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D E F E N C E

Trade in America
57
OF THE

O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON THE

A s s i e n t o Trade,

As it hath been Exercised by the

South-Sea Company, &c.

IN TWO PARTS.

- I. IN Relation to the Controversy.
- II. IN Relation to the QUERIES which were published in the CRAFTSMAN, and other Aspersions on the Author of the OBSERVATIONS on the ASSIENTO TRADE, as well as on the Island of JAMAICA.

*Sed quanto Ille magis FORMAS se vertet in OMNES
Tanto, Nate, magis Contende tenacia Vincula.*

Virgil.

By the Author of the Observations on the Assiento Trade.

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COMMUNICATIONS





P R E F A C E.

I *AM* sensible of the Objections, which may be made to the ensuing Treatise; though I shall take Notice of such only, as may seem to have some Weight; for if they are confuted, all others will vanish of themselves.

IT is said, and very justly, that the Nation may gain by a Trade, though the Company, or Society of Merchants, who exercise it, are Losers: Whether this is, probably, the Case of the Assiento Contract, with Relation to Great Britain, and the South-Sea Company, is not here a material Enquiry; the Question is, Whether the Nation does not suffer more in other Branches of Commerce, than any Advantages, which may arise from the Assiento, will ballance; even though it be allowed to be a beneficial Contract to both. The Company's sending Ships to Guinea, advancing the Price of Negroes, and supplying the Spaniards with the very best, while the British Planters must accept of the worst, and such as they refuse, are plain and undeniable Instances of the Damage, which the Colonies in general may sustain by it.

IT is, also, worth observing, that the Affiento is but Temporary, and dependant on the Humour and Mercy of the Spaniards, as we have fully experienced; and if we argue from their Conduct hitherto, it is probable, that, after this is expired, another will not be granted to the English; and consequently the Trade can then be only carried on in the same Channels, which it was in before this Affiento was thought of. But, if it should be entirely diverted, we may never be able to retrieve it again, since every one is sensible how difficult it is to regain any lost Branch of Trade.

ON the other Hand, if it be considered, what Discouragements Jamaica lies under, and the Danger to which that important Acquisition is thereby exposed; that alone is a cogent Objection to the Manner, in which the Affiento Contract has been said to be carried on; for, supposing that the Inhabitants of that Island should still diminish, (as undoubtedly they will do, unless some Remedies are apply'd in Time) what will be the Consequence? Why, it must become a heavy Charge to England, in maintaining a sufficient Number of Forces to defend it; or be exposed to the Enemy, who have always had an Eye upon it. And should we ever be so unfortunate, as to lose it, will the Affiento Contract, in its fullest Extent, compensate for the Loss of its annual Produce? Will the Contract itself be of any Value? Or, rather, will not even that be in Danger, as well as all other Parts of the British Dominions in America, which are the Support of above one Half of the Trade and Navigation, and consequently a considerable Part of the Riches and Strength of the Kingdom?

HOW anxious has the Nation been with Relation to Gibraltar? Was not his late Majesty address'd from all Parts of the Kingdom, when that important Fortress was thought to be in Danger? And, is not the Island of Jamaica of much greater Consequence? In fine, it only wants to be as well represented, to have at least the same Concern shewn for it. If, therefore the Hints which I
have

have given should promote any Enquiry, or incite some abler Pen to set it in a better Light, I shall have all the Satisfaction I propose to my self; notwithstanding the invidious Insinuations, which have been made to the contrary.

I am aware, that it may again be said, that these Inferences are merely chimerical; and I very heartily wish they may prove so. But I cannot be of that Opinion, till they are made appear, by more convincing Arguments, than have yet been produced: And tho' some Attempts may possibly be made towards it, when I am absent, and in a distant Part of the World; yet I hope some disinterested Persons (as well as those, who are more immediately concerned) will be so much the Friends of Jamaica and Great Britain, as to support this Cause against any fallacious Arguments, or specious Objections; to which my Assistance shall not be wanting, as far as my Abilities will extend, or any Opportunities shall present themselves.

IT may, perhaps, be likewise objected, that my glancing at the Management of this Company, in the Year 1720. is foreign to the Debate in hand; since the present Directors are not answerable for what former Directors have done. To which I answer, that if they had not trod in the same Steps with respect to Jamaica; yet, it is altogether as reasonable as it was for their Advocate (who received their Thanks) to asperse the present Inhabitants of Jamaica, for what a few of them have been charged with doing formerly: Especially when it is considered, that the Mischief, which the Buccaneers committed, was nothing in Comparison to the Calamities which the former Directors brought upon the Nation, and which were so unparallel'd, and universal, that they ought never to be forgotten; and, perhaps, cannot be too often mentioned.

AS to my Opponent, it must be allowed, that I have treated him with more Temper and Good Manners, than he deserves from my Hands. It is exceeding difficult,

difficult, I find, for any Person to shake off any Custom or Habits ; for He has been so accustomed to Lord it over the Company's Factors, and other Servants and Dependants Abroad, that he, even here, puts on the Air of Importance, which he there assumed. But, why does he treat me after the same Manner ? I am, I think, upon a Level with him, as I am sure that I am independant of his PATRONS : I never solicited them for any Favours, nor shall I covet their Smiles, upon any Conditions, which are any ways inconsistent with what I have here advanced.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 17. l. 31. *for confused, read confuted.*

Page 13. l. 9.

Page 25. l. 4.

Page 33. l. 20.

Page 28. l. 9.

} *For 16 Years, read 15 Years.*

Page 27. l. 4, and 5. *instead of, the very next Page, read, and soon after. And in l. 7. instead of, and soon after, read, and in the very next Page.*

Page 61. l. 16, and 17. *instead of, the Voyage to Carthagena takes up twice the Time it doth to Porto Bello, read, the Voyage to Porto Bello takes up twice the Time it doth to Carthagena.*



A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
O B S E R V A T I O N S
O N T H E
A s s i e n t o T r a d e , & c .



P A R T I .

In which the Observations on the Assiento Trade, as it hath been exercised by the South-Sea Company, is fully vindicated, and the Charge of Calumny refuted.



T must be imagined to be no small Surprise to a Person, who is so little known in this Part of the World, and who never was vain enough to aim at any popular Notice or Distinction, to be attack'd, in the Manner I have been, by the Factor to the *South-Sea Company*, in a Pamphlet, entitled, an *Answer to a Calumny*, &c.

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Whether I have given any just Provocation for such rough, not to say ungentleman-like Treatment ; or whether I pretended to any thing more than a Recital of *Facts*, and to shew the distressed Condition of the most valuable Part of the *British Dominions* in *America*, I appeal to every impartial and disinterested Reader.

WITH what Modesty then can this *Writer* assert, that the *Hostilities* were began by me, *such as no Man can suffer, and preserve any Reputation among Men of Honour ?* For *who* was it that spirited up the Directors of the *South-Sea Company*, to oppose the Payment of the Duty on Negroes in *Jamaica*, which is not only reasonable, but necessary for the Support of the Government of that Island ? — *Who* represented its Inhabitants to be in a low, and necessitous Condition, till the *Affiento* was settled there ; when it is well known that they were in rich and flourishing Circumstances, and are now reduced to the lowest and most declining Condition ? — Let *Him* reflect on these, and some *other Passages*, which I need not remind him of, and then lay his Hand on his Heart, and candidly declare *who* began the *Hostilities*.

It is indeed no unlucky Circumstance for him in this Dispute, (the *only one* which ever happened between us) that we have a different way of thinking ; for though he has given me great *Provocation*, and it is in my Power to make *ample Reprisals*, yet, I shall confine my self to the main Points, which may be of some use to the Publick, as well as to the Rules of *Decency* and *good Manners*. *Personal Reflections* can have no Weight in Matters of this kind, nor are they ever made use of, but in Support of a *bad Cause*, and when *Arguments* are wanting, and all other *fair Means* are likely to prove ineffectual. Had He observed the *same Conduct*, the World would have entertained a more favourable Opinion of his Performance, as well as the Subject of it ; and perhaps some of his Readers, who are unacquainted with Affairs of a mercantile Nature, might have been misled by *specious Pretences*, and a *sophistical Way of arguing*. But as the Case now stands, He has plainly discovered the *bad Foundation* which he has built upon ; and that the mighty

Fabrick will of Course sink under its own Weight. I must, however, applaud the great Pains he has taken, in endeavouring to give Things such a Gloss and Colour, when he had no *better Materials* to work with; and at the same Time congratulate the *South-Sea Company*, in having at length been able to procure *One Advocate*; though I am indeed doubtful, whether they will, in the sequel, think themselves obliged to Him, or that he has done them any Service, in extorting *some Truths*, which may not be agreeable, and perhaps might otherwise have remained concealed. I shall therefore calmly, and, without Prejudice or Resentment, examine his *Remarks*, and make a decent Replication, unmoved at the *Menaces* and *Figure* of his PATRONS, and unsupported with any POWERFUL ALLIES; armed and incited with the Love of Truth, and the Satisfaction, which flows from an *honest Mind*, in having contributed the least Mite, which may be of Service to my Country, or the Community to which I belong.

BUT, before I proceed any farther, I beg leave to observe, that his Memory seems to fail him in several Particulars. In the *Letter* in the *Daily Journal*, of the 18th of last Month, He said, or at least, his *Friend* affirms as much, that *he had been scurvily used by some obscure Wretch, who perhaps had not deserved any Notice, but that the Craftsman had stamped such a Value upon his Piece, in which he was scandaliz'd; that he was afraid every Body would read it on his Recommendation, and from thence conclude him a vile Fellow, if he did not answer it*: And yet, in Page 61 of his Pamphlet, he tells his Readers, that *He had put the better half of his Remarks together, before he saw the Craftsman, whose Recommendation of that Piece had nettled him a good deal, to find himself set forth in such Colours*. Is not this a plain Confession, that he felt the Sting, before the *Craftsman* was pleased to recommend it? and yet he would insinuate, that it was not deserving of any Answer, *had he not stamp'd such a Value upon the Piece*. What! would He condescend to answer a *Pamphlet*, which had neither *Truth, Argument, nor Merit* in it; or would any Man be so testy, upon so slight a Touch, if he was not in some

Degree galled ? But this is not the only Slip, which even a Man of his *Self-sufficiency* is subject to, as will be occasionally shewn in the following Sheets.

As to the Narrative of what passed before the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable *Privy Council*, upon a *Petition* of the *South-Sea Company*, in relation to the *Duties* on *Negroes* in *Jamaica*, I am perswaded that every disinterested Person, who was present, will allow it to be a fair and candid Representation, notwithstanding the great Pains which this Writer has taken to prejudice his Readers against it, and to invalidate my Assertions in every other Particular. *Truth*, like the Sun, may be obscured, or clouded for a Time ; but will of it self break forth and shine more brightly. Whether He or I are therefore mistaken, must be left to their Determination ; all that I shall insist on, is, that I have not *wilfully* misconstrued, nor related any Thing which he asserted at that honourable Board, before I had refreshed my Memory, by enquiring of several *Gentlemen*, who were then present, and confirm'd me as to the Substance of what He said on that Occasion. But when He accuses me of *having spent seven Pages, proving Facts by Arguments, and Arguments by Facts, and then summing up the Victory with great Satisfaction of Mind, without having produced the least Shadow of a Proof for any one of them* ; how came He to tread in the same Steps ? ——— Has he offered any *other Voucher* than *his own* ? Or is his *Character* or *Reputation* in the World so far above *mine*, that I am to be discredited barely upon his Testimony.

It would be tiresome to my Readers, and take up more time than I have to spare at this Juncture, to trace him in every Particular, and shew how unfairly he has managed this Dispute, by collecting Scraps of Sentences, without taking the whole Argument, blending different Points together, wresting and torturing of other Expressions, till he had fitted them to his own Purpose ; as for Instance in the following triumphant Passage, *viz.* “ *Unlucky Company ! and more unlucky Managers ! who, in the Execution of a national Contract, at once stand charged with buying all the Negroes, and thereby*
“ *ruin-*

“ ruining the *Planters* ; with not buying, and thereby
 “ ruining the *Merchants* ; with importing Negroes in
 “ Prejudice of These, and not importing them in Pre-
 “ judice of the Others ; with destroying private Trade,
 “ and thereby preventing the Exportation of *British*
 “ Manufactures ; with conniving at private Trade, and
 “ thereby promoting this very Exportation: In fine, ac-
 “ cused in the Name of their Proprietors, for betraying
 “ their Interests, and in the Name of all others, for not
 “ betraying them. Must they answer or be silent? or
 “ can any one speak and not offend?

What Writer can be safe from this sort of Criticism,
 which may turn into Ridicule any Work that was ever
 written, and make even the most *sacred Writings* to con-
 sist of *Absurdities, Contradictions, and even Blasphemies?*
 ---This brings to my Mind a Passage in the *Tatler*, N^o.
 239. “ I think, says Mr. *Bickerstaff*, I never was so
 “ much offended, as at a Wag whom I once met with in a
 “ Coffee-house: He had in his Hand one of the *Miscel-*
 “ *lanies*, and was reading the following short Copy of
 “ Verses; which, without Flattery to the Author, is
 “ (I think) as beautiful in its kind, as any one in the
 “ *English Tongue*.

Flavia, the least, the slightest Toy .
Can with resistless Art employ.
This Fan in meaner Hands, would prove,
An Engine of small Force in Love:
But she, with such an Air and Mein,
Not to be told or safely seen,
Directs its wanton Motions so,
That it wounds more than Cupid's Bow;
Gives Coolness to the matchless Dame,
To ev'ry other Breast a Flame.

“ When this Coxcomb had done reading them, hey day,
 “ says he, what Instrument is this that *Flavia* employs
 “ in such a Manner as *is not to be told, nor safely seen?*
 “ In ten Lines it is a *Toy*, a *Cupid's Bow*, a *Fan*, and
 “ an *Engine in Love*. It has *wanton Motions*, it
 “ *wounds*, it *cools*, and *inflames*. Such Criticisms make
 “ a Man of Sense sick, and a Fool merry.

BUT

BUT I have not Leisure to make any farther Remarks of that Nature ; nor, indeed, is there any Occasion to shew the many aukward Finesses, which are scatter'd throughout this Piece, since they may be easily discover'd by every discerning Reader. I shall therefore confine my self to those few material Points, which he has touched upon. In pag. 9. he asserts, *That Jamaica was not in actual Possession of any considerable Trade to the Spanish Coast, at the time of the Establishment of the South-Sea Company ; nor did that Trade maintain at that Time (nor as he believes at any other) so many as 1500 Seamen, or indeed half that Number.* And in p. 10. he says, *That during Queen Anne's War, there were fitted out from Jamaica, between 20 and 30 Privateers, which, including the Traders, might very well employ 1500 Seamen, though much the greater Part were certainly on the Privateering Account.*

Now let us see how these Assertions will hang together : *Twenty five Sail of Privateers*, which is the Medium between the Number he has mentioned, computing them at 60 Men one with another, (though very few carried less than 90 or 100) makes 1500 Men ; so that he has left none for the *Trading Sloops* ; whereas it is well known, that there were constantly employ'd in the Trade to *Carthageua* and *Porto Bello*, 14 or 15 Sloops, and 5 or 6 to the *South Cays* ; (besides several others which us'd different Parts of *America*) and that these Sloops were navigated with 60 or 70 Men each. From whence it is obvious, that the *private Traders* could not employ less than 1500 *Seamen* in *Peace* or *War* ; because they were obliged at all times to go well mann'd, not only to protect them from *Privateers* in *War*, and *Pirates* in *Peace*, but from *Seizures* by the *Spaniards*. And as to the *Privateers*, I do aver, that, in the Year 1710, I saw a List of 35 Sail, which were Commissioned and fitted out from *Jamaica* ; several of them had from 120, to 150 Men each, and some of them more. This I thought proper to mention, as it fully refutes his Calculation, as to the Numbers of Sea-faring Men employ'd in *Privateering*, as well as by the *Traders* ; though in my Account I made no Estimate of

of the *former*, knowing that they were, in general, a loose, unsettled People, and that no Dependence was to be had on them, unless in time of War. But, how has he blended those People together, and associated that Nest of *Pirates*, which settled at *Sanblasts*, with them? Whereas they were a Mixture of *all Nations*, chiefly *French*, who began to gather, soon after the Peace of *Reswick*, and were most numerous during the War with *France* and *Spain*. Nor is he right as to the *Cassandra's Crew*, which was composed of some of those *Pirates*, who, after they had committed great Depredations on the Coast of *Guinea*, separated from Capt. *Roberts*; and the rest of them, (who were afterwards taken by the *Swallow* Man of War) and, under the Command of one *England*, sailed to the *East Indies*, where they took that Ship. With the same Candor and Satisfaction of Mind, he acquaints his Readers, pag. 16. That *the same Men* often traded with *Commissions of War* in their Pockets. *When the Sloops made trading Voyages, they were furnished with Arms, and the same Number of Men, as if they had been fitted for War, and designed for no other Purpose: And inasmuch as the one Hand plaid into the other, and trading Voyages were made of Cargoes of Prize Goods, taken sometimes from the Spaniards, and sold them again, &c.*

AND, what has he infer'd from hence? Why, all the mean ill-natur'd Insinuations which Malice could invent: Or to what Purpose was this Paragraph foisted in, and worded in such a Manner, as to carry with it the strongest Reflection on the *Inhabitants* in general, as well as the *Traders*? Is it not necessary for the *trading Sloops* to go well mann'd and arm'd in *Peace* or *War*, to defend themselves from *Pirates*, *Guarda Costas*, or *Privateers*? Have they not constantly done the same, whenever they went without Convoy, even in the most *pacifick Times*? Were the *Commissions*, which they obtained, any thing more than *Letters of Mart* and *Reprisals*, which were granted to most Merchant Ships of Force in *England* during the last *French War*? And, after all, can this Writer give one Instance of an *ill Use* being made of those *Commissions*? The *Spaniards* were indeed

deed sometimes intercepted in the War, and plundered of those very Goods, which they had bought of those Traders; but it was by a very different Sett of People, who were entirely on the *Privateering Account*, and were far from being countenanced or encouraged in those Practices. And yet he has set not only Capt. Colby's Expedition in such a Light, as if he was at the same time a *Trader* as well as a *Privateer*, but represented all the *Jamaica* Traders in the same Colours: Whereas it is well known, that he was (particularly that Voyage) equipp'd and fitted out with no other Design than as a *Privateer*, and his taking the *Chagre Fleet*, was, perhaps, as brave an Action, as the whole Course of that War can furnish us with: For he singly waited sometime for that Fleet, which consisted of 12 Sail, under Convoy of a Vessel of *superior Force*, which he took, and *Seven* of the others; though several of them had from 25 to 40 Men each; and the Reward they met with fully compensated such a glorious Action; for every common Seaman shar'd upwards of 500*l*. Nor can I omit another material Circumstance, which will be a farther Confutation of what is hinted on that Head, *viz.* that the *Chagre Fleet* were laden with Goods imported from *Old Spain*, in the *Galleons*, and not with such Commodities as had been purchas'd of the *Jamaica* Traders.

HE is very merry with an Expression which I have used, That the 1500 Sea Men employ'd in this Trade, made the Island *Formidable* to their Neighbours. The Word *Formidable* seems to divert him, and he has wrested and put on it all the bad Constructions, which could enter into so fruitful a Brain. I must beg leave to ask him, what is the Security of *Great Britain*, and what gives her so formidable a Figure in *Europe*? Is it not her powerful Fleets, and the great Number of Seamen, without which they would be of no Use? And if any Number of them, after they had perform'd the most gallant Actions in the Service of their Country, should take to a dishonourable Course of Life for want of Employ, are the rest of them, or the whole Nation, to be branded with a Mark of Infamy on their Account? And yet this seems to be something like his way of arguing; some
of

of the *Jamaica Privateers*, or *Seamen*, after the Peace of *Utrecht*, either for want of Employ, or, perhaps, through a natural Disposition to such a Course of Life, turn'd *Pirates*; and therefore all other *Sea-faring Men*, and even the rest of the *Inhabitants* are to be placed in the same Light.

As to the Trade: The *South-Sea Company* was established in 1711. and the *Assiento Contract* granted them in 1713. at which Time, and for 2 or 3 Years after, I do aver, (and several Gentlemen of *Jamaica* who are now in *England*, will attest the same) that there were between thirty and forty Sail of Sloops which were employ'd to several Parts of the *Spanish Coast*. And for the Satisfaction of the Reader, I have inserted, in the Appendix, a List of the *Super-Cargoes* and *Commanders*, who were all of them *Inhabitants* of the Island, and most of them had *Families* there.

Now, whether this may not be called a *flourishing Trade*, which employ'd such a Number of Vessels, and seldom gave less than 25 and 30 *per Cent.* Profit, particularly those Voyages which were under the Direction of Mess. *Galdy*, *Stapleton*, *Lescrier*, and *Stevenson*, I appeal to the Reader. Nor did that Commerce decline till the Year 1716. and till the *South-Sea Company's Factories* were settled in *America*; tho', by the Way, Capt. *Gandy* was kill'd in 1710; since whose Death, this Author says, the Island has had but an *inconsiderable Share* in the *Spanish Trade*.

AND here I can't pass by some Incidents in the Life of that *brave Man*, (to whose Merit and Memory he has but partly done Justice) which not being for his Purpose, and making against his darling Topick of *stroling Seamen*, were either forgotten, or wilfully omitted. And therefore I must refresh his Memory with the Cries and Lamentations of the many *Widows* and *Fatherless Children*, when he was overset, and above Ninety of his Men drowned. I saw him land at *Kingston* (with those few of his Company who were saved) surrounded with those unhappy Objects. The melancholy Scene made such an Impression upon me, that I have since been often moved at the very Remembrance of it; nor

could he be a Stranger to every Circumstance of that fatal Accident, which was so well known and felt throughout this Island. The eminent Services of *that Gentleman* to the Country, on many Occasions, ought not here to be forgot, particularly in the Year 1704. when two *French Privateers* had infested the *Leeward Part* of the Island, and committed great Damages; he generously offer'd his Service to the Governor, the Men of War happening at that Juncture to be out on a Cruise: accordingly a Commission was granted him, and upon beating up for Volunteers, he was compleatly mann'd, and sail'd in 48 Hours; he had several Engagements with the two *Privateers*, who were of *superior Force*, and bravely drove them off the Coast. And who were those *gallant Men*, who so justly received the Thanks and Applause of the Country? Why, they were so far from being *stroling Seamen*, as he would insinuate all the Sea-faring Men of *Jamaica* to be, that most of them were not only settled there with their *Families*, but the *Commander*, and the *major Part* of them, were *Natives* of the Island.

It is evident, that the Trade to *New Spain* was opened in the Reign of King *Charles the II^d*. and was carried on with the same Success, in the Government of King *James* and King *William*, for which we have even this Writer's own Words, and that the Island then abounded in *Shipping, Trade, and People*.

In pag. 18. he tells his Readers, That *there was standing, in Jamaica, one of the largest and most beautiful Towns in all America; that it covered fifty Acres of Ground, all well built and fortified; that there were whole Streets, of the Height and Model of the Houses in London, and was furnished with all imaginable Conveniences for Shipping and Trade, in which, and in People it ABOUNDED.* And in pag. 72. That *the most plentiful and happy Days Jamaica ever saw, was in the glorious Reign of King William: And yet he insinuates, in pag. 12. That the Encouragement which was given this Trade by the Government, in the Reign of Queen Anne, was owing to the Posture of Affairs in Europe; That France and Spain were then united in the strictest Bands of Interest*

terest and Friendship against us ; That Britain was in a firm Alliance with the Emperor, and espoused his Pretensions to the Monarchy of Spain, part of the Dominions of which Crown he was in actual Possession of : And therefore it may be reasonably presumed, whatever was done in regard to that Trade, in any Part of the Spanish Dominions, was done in Concert with King Charles the III^d. of Spain, and by Virtue of some secret Stipulations in Favour of Britain, for the great Service they were rendering that Monarch, by the Assistance of their Fleets and Armies.

GIVE me leave to enquire, what were those Stipulations, and of what Use to Trade ; since I never heard that any Part of the Spanish Dominions, in America, ever acknowledg'd King Charles the III^d of Spain ? And consequently they would not have been of any Service, had such Measures been really concerted. Was France and Spain united in the strictest Bands of Friendship against us in the Reign of King William ? On the contrary, it is well known, that England and Spain were then in Alliance against France ; and that from 1670, to 1702. there was a perfect Harmony between the two Crowns : Nor did I ever hear, that the Crown of England gave the least Discouragement, at any time, to so beneficial a Commerce to her Subjects, either by Treaty or otherwise ; though, indeed, it was always prohibited on the Part of Spain ; and our Traders, whenever they are taken, suffer the Penalty of their Laws.

BUT, though the private Traders have no License from the Court of Spain to trade, yet it is manifest that their Commerce is no Breach of any English Law, or Treaty ; whereas, if any clandestine Trade has been carried on under the South-Sea Company's Umbrage and Expence, as hath been suggested, it is not only an Abuse to the Company, but a Violation of a solemn Treaty between the two Crowns ; it being declared in the 4th Article of the *Asiento Contract*, That his Catholick Majesty, in Consideration of the Loss, which former *Asientists* have sustained, allows the Company to send a Ship of 500 Tons, annually into New Spain, upon this

exprefs Condition, that the said Company ſhall not carry on, nor attempt any unlawful Trade, directly, nor indirectly, upon any Pretence whatever.

BUT, when this Writer affirmed ſo poſitively, That *the bad State of the private Trade from Jamaica is not really owing to the South-Sea Company, but to other Cauſes, entirely and abſolutely independent of them*; How came he to omit ſo fair an Opportunity of ſhewing what thoſe *Cauſes* were, and, at the ſame time, confute the Suggestions of the Inhabitants of *that Iſland*, that *the Intelligence, which it is ſaid the Spaniards have had from time to time, concerning thoſe trading Sloops, by which Means their Traffick hath been interrupted, and ſeveral of them taken, was from ſome of the South-Sea Company's Servants.* His paſſing over in Silence this, and ſeveral other Matters, which would not bear being diſcuſſed, may, I think, be fairly taken *pro confeſſo* of the Truth of the ſeveral Facts, and plainly diſcover, what are the *true Reaſons* of the Loſs of the private Trade from *Jamaica*, and conſequently of the Deſertion of near one half of its Inhabitants.

IT is generally allowed, that *the greater Extent of Trade muſt neceſſarily always employ the greater Number of Hands, whether Land Men or Sea Men*; and when he has made appear, that the *South-Sea Company* have exceeded the *private Traders*, in the Value of their *Exports*, and *Imports*, (in which Number he muſt include the *Merchants*, who trade to *Old Spain*, who are equally prejudiced in their Trade, by the Company) or ſhew that they have been any *Gainers*, upon an *Account of Trade fairly ſtated and ballanced*, I will readily give up the *Queſtion*, and own them a great Benefit to the Nation. But, the contrary is ſuggeſted with ſome Ground of Probability, without bringing into the *Estimate*, either *Frauds* or *Seizures*, which are ſaid to amount to a very conſiderable Value; and he has owned, that the Number of Hands they employ at *Jamaica*, (which Iſland is their principal Mart of Trade) do not exceed 200 Men. Whereas it is obvious, from the Nature and Manner of the Commerce, which was carried on by the *private Traders*, that they could not employ

ploy less than 1500 Men, in their several Branches of Trade; and were it practicable to shew what the Value of it was formerly, by reason of the great Number of Hands it went through (which indeed would not be proper in this Place) I am confident it would appear in their Favour; for though the *Company* have traded for some Years to a very considerable Value, yet it is to be considered how liable they are to *Impositions* and *Obstructions**, by the *Spaniards*, and that, in 16 Years, they have not fairly and without Interruption, carried on any considerable Trade above 6 Years of the Time; notwithstanding which the *Duties* to the *King of Spain*, on Account of the *Assiento Contract*, and many other *excessive Charges* they are at, are constantly running on, and without doubt must be a very considerable Drawback on their Trade. And how many Millions must they deal for, with the utmost Care and *Frugality*, to retrieve such *vast Losses* and *Disappointments*, as they have met with; which this Writer's PATRON, in his late *Speech* to the *General Court*, declared to be almost *insupportable*? And what Prospect have they of its ever being otherwise, considering the *natural Disposition* of the *Spaniards*, and the *Usage* all *Trading Companies* have constantly met with.

It would be *endless*, he says, *page 24.* to shew all the *Mistakes of this Writer*, (without proving one single Article, unless his *affirming* to the contrary be allowed a Proof) his *Voyages* to *Carthagen*a and *Portobello* are stated alike; whereas the latter generally takes up twice the Time of the former, and both as much again as he allows. What Time the *Company's Sloops* are making those *Voyages*, or what may be the *Reason* of their being twice the Time in the Voyage to *Portobello*, which they are to *Carthagen*a, He is best able to explain; but sure I am, that a Vessel may commonly go to either of those
Places

* *vide* the Representation of the Court of Directors, to his late Majesty, the 24th of September, 1718. relating to the Difficulties they laboured under, with respect to their Trade, &c.

Places from *Jamaica*, and return within the Time I have mentioned; nor could He reasonably imagine, that I meant any thing more, since I could not possibly account for the Time she might be detained on the Coast; though indeed I have known several of the *Jamaica Traders*, and particularly Capt. Gandy, dispose of a very considerable Cargo of Goods at *Portobello*, and compleat the Voyage in *four*, and sometimes in *three Weeks*.

In page 25. He seems to triumph, as if he had gain'd some considerable Advantage over me; for, with an Air of Exultation, He puts the following Question: *Did the Inhabitants of Jamaica sell great Numbers of Negroes at that time to the French, not only for the Assiento, but for their own Plantations? Take care; these last can't be supposed to have gone to Carthagea, but to the French Settlements on Hispaniola; with whom I believe it was at that very Time High Treason to trade.*

If the Trade with the *French Assiento Company* was of a treasonable Nature, I know some Persons, whose Interest it would have been to be silent; but since this Enquiry seems calculated with a malicious Intention, of blasting the *whole Island*, it is necessary to observe, for the Information of others, that the Supply of Negroes I meant, which the *French* had from *Jamaica*, was after the Cessation of Arms; for though the *Assiento Contract* was given to the *South-Sea Company* soon after the *Treaty of Utrecht*, yet it is well known that their several Factories were not establish'd till the Year 1715. and that the *French* continued to exercise the same, and imported great Numbers of Negroes from *Jamaica*, during that Interval, will appear by the 24th Article of the Representation of the Court of Directors of the *South-Sea Company*, to his late Majesty, the 24th of September, 1718.

As to their furnishing the *French Settlements on Hispaniola* with Negroes, He is best able to explain, *how*, and by *what means* that Commerce was first opened, and encouraged at *Jamaica*; since it is well known in that Island, that He was well acquainted with all the *Secrets* of those Times: Whereas, if He can give one Instance of

of my being concerned directly or indirectly in *that Trade*, all the Time I resided there, I will contentedly submit even to his Censure: But on the contrary, He has not the least Reason to throw it in my Way, since it is well known, that I always thought it a *prejudicial Commerce* to the *Island* and to the *Colonies* in general, and that I used my utmost Endeavours to suppress it, while I had the Honour of serving his late Majesty in a *Station*, wherein it was more particularly incumbent on me.

NOR indeed ought the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* in general to be censured on that Head; since it is well known that there are *clandestine Traders* in all Countries; and that the most wholesome Laws, which have been made in *England*, are not sufficient to restrain the Running of *Wool*, and preventing other Practices of the like Nature, which are thought prejudicial to the Nation.

It is, indeed, no easy Matter to follow this Writer in his Remarks, which are not only *irregular*, and without any *Connection*, but He has unfairly blended different Points together; for without offering the least Argument against the *Duty* on *Negroes* exported, He has Recourse to his usual Method, when He is under any Difficulty, and endeavours to puzzle the Case, by applying what is said to the *Duty* on *Negroes* imported: Whereas He might have observed, had he been a candid Writer, that in *page 22*. I declared that I was of Opinion, that *the continuing the Duty on Negroes imported, and taking it off from the Company's Negroes, which are re-exported to the Dominions of a foreign Prince, may not only discourage any farther Improvements being made in the Island, but greatly prejudice the British Trade and Navigation*. And in *page 28*. submitted, whether it was not reasonable to restrain the Company, AND OTHERS, in the Number of *Negroes*, which they export to some particular Places; and how far it is advisable, and indeed absolutely necessary (in regard to the Hints which I have given) to take proper Measures for furnishing the *British Plantations* with *Negroes*, at easier Rates, by taking off the *Duty* on Import, and
make

make them dearer to Foreigners, by laying such a Duty on Export as may be thought reasonable.

It is evident from hence, how disingenuously He has managed this Dispute, and how easily He slides over Things which make against him, or puts on them such Constructions as will not bear the Test. He has indeed taken Notice of the Words, *and others*, which he allows to be honestly said ; though he has omitted doing me that Justice, in many other Particulars ; and I appeal to every impartial Reader, whether He has the least Ground to suggest, from any Part of my Writings, that I am for laying any Duty or Imposition on the *Company*, more than on the *private Traders* : For on the contrary, the Tenour of my whole Argument is for putting them on an equal Footing, (and not giving the *Company* any Advantage over other *British Subjects*, as they manifestly now have, in respect to the *Duties*) and recommending such Measures, as would make *Negroes cheaper to the British Planters*, and *dearer to Foreigners*.

AND here I must observe with Pleasure, that the Arguments which I have offered in support of the Reasonableness of the *Duties* on all *Negroes exported to the Dominions of foreign Princes* seem to be *incontestable* ; since He has so slightly passed them over, without offering one Reason against them, which without doubt He would not have been backward to do, if that Point would any ways bear being discuss'd ; and since it was the Foundation of this *Controversy* : I therefore congratulate the Gentlemen of *Jamaica*, in having so essential a Point explained, in such a Manner as must be allowed unanswerable ; and hope they will not be wanting, in a seasonable Application to his Majesty, for a *New Instruction* to the Governor, on that Head.

IN the same Manner, and with great Composure, this Writer has also evaded giving one Reason in Justification of the *South-Sea Company's Trade on the Coast of Guinea*, which is suggested not to be within the *Limits* of their *Charter* ; and instead thereof, turned the Argument into personal Raillery or Reflection, and affirmed what I think ought to be called a Falshood ; for I do solemnly

solemnly declare, that I never appeared at the Board of Trade against any *Act of Assembly*, nor was the Report of the Lords Commissioners of Trade, relating to the *Duties on Negroes*, made chiefly, or upon any *Information* which they had from me : And for a Confirmation of this, I appeal to those worthy Gentlemen, who were present at the Hearing which was before that Board on that Occasion.

I DID, indeed, sign a Petition to their Lordships, against an *Act of Assembly*, in the Year 1724. but it was not on Account of the *Export-Duty*, but in regard to some other Matters which were tack'd to that Bill ; and therefore, as they could not be separated, I oppos'd, so far as signing that Petition would do it, its being confirmed by the Crown. " Every Reader of his " Narrative, may judge from hence, what Allowances " are to be made for the Assertions of a Writer in general, after such plain Instances of his Veracity ; which, " whether more to be admired at, or the Skill and Judgment with which his Performance is conducted, is not " easy to determine : Whereon I shall venture, however, to bestow some farther Remarks, and then leave " that to the Decision of the Reader.

BUT, I cannot pass over, so slightly as he hath done, the *South-Sea Company's* trading to *Guinea*, and the Manner in which they have exercised the *Assiento Contract*, which are said to be prejudicial to the Colonies in general, as well as to the Island of *Jamaica*. My Reasoning on those Subjects, and the Inferences I have drawn from thence, are so far from being Chimerical, or confuted by any Arguments, which he hath yet offer'd, that, on the contrary, he has shewn them to be the Sense of the People of the Island ; for in his Appendix, pag. 60. he has oblig'd me with some *Vouchers* of it, by annexing the *Objections which have been made to the Advantages alledged to arise to the Island of Jamaica from the Assiento being established there.*

Ist, HE says it has been objected, That the *Company*, by buying of *Negroes*, render them dear to the *Planters*.

2dly, *BUT*, it has been said, if they be not dearer, the Planter is however supply'd with worse Negroes, because the Company have their Choice.

3dly, *IT* has been formerly said, there was Danger of the Assiento Company's uniting with the African, to obtain an exclusive Trade to Africa, which raised some Prejudice against the Assiento Company.

4thly, *IT* has been urged, that the Assiento Company has ruined the private Trade of this Island, to the Spanish Coast, and consequently has been a greater Prejudice than Gain to it.

FROM whence these plain and natural Inferences follow, that the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* (who must certainly be allowed to be competent Judges of their own Interest) were of Opinion, that, though *Negroes* were not dearer at that Time, yet they were supplied with worse than they had before; that they were under some Apprehensions of their becoming dearer, by means of the *South-Sea Company*; that they dreaded the *Guinea Trade* being made exclusive, and were even prejudiced against the *Assiento Company*, upon a Suggestion of their having some such View; and, that the *Company* had ruined their private Trade, and consequently has been a greater Prejudice than Gain to the Island.

IF these were not their Sentiments, to what Purpose was an Answer made, and laid before the late Duke of *Portland*, who was then Governor of *Jamaica*, and the several Members of the *Council* and *Assembly*? For, it cannot be supposed, that Objections would be started upon imaginary Notions, or to any thing which was consistent with their own Interest. And what was the Issue of all this? Why, his Arguments plainly appeared to be *sophistical*, and were so far from having any Effect on the Members of the *Council* and *Assembly*, that they did not think them deserving of any Notice or Answer.

IT is therefore obvious, that I am not singular in my Opinions concerning those Points; and as to the Price of *Negroes* being raised very considerably on the Coast of *Guinea*, I appeal, for the Truth of this, to the Merchants of *London*, *Bristol*, and *Liverpool*. And whether it would not have been almost impracticable for any

of them to carry on that Trade, had not the late Misunderstanding between the Courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, given a Check to the Measures of the *South-Sea Company*? For they sent such large Cargoes in their Ships, of near double the Value of what the *Guinea Merchants* usually sent, (particularly to *Whidah*) and gave such great Prices for *Negroes*, that no other Traders could afford to purchase any, while the *Company's* Ships were on the Coast. And the Reason of it is plain; the *Guinea Merchants* sell the *Negroes*, whom they import, chiefly to the *British Planters*, and receive in Payment the Productions of the *Plantations*, which seldom clear more than 20*l.* *Sterl.* per Head; whereas the *Affiento Factor* tells his Readers, that the *Company* sell to the *Spaniards* from 250, to 300 *Pieces* of *Eight* per Head. Can it then be denied, that the Manner of the *South-Sea Company's* Trade is highly prejudicial to the *Colonies*, by making *Negroes* scarcer, and dearer? For, if they give double the Price which was formerly given, are not the *Guinea Merchants* under the Necessity of giving the same Prices, or of loading their Ships with such as are scarcely fit for the *Planters* Service, the others having all the choice picked *Negroes*? And if the *Guinea Merchants* (as they evidently do) give so much more for their *Negroes*, than they did before the *Company* traded to *Africa*, must they not sell for a proportionable Price to the *Planter*, or be ruined? Will not this disable our *Planters* from selling their *Commodities* as cheap as their Neighbours, who have manifestly some Advantages over them in other Respects? And will not the *Trade*, *Navigation*, and general Interest of *Great Britain* be greatly affected thereby?

It must be allowed, that in all Trades, *Manufactures*, or *Business*, it is necessary to render the first Materials as cheap as possible: *Negroes* being the first and absolute Material for planting, it follows, that all Methods should be taken, which may produce such a Plenty of them, and at such easy Rates, as may be an Encouragement to the industrious *Planter*; and whatever tends to the making them scarcer or dearer, ought to be suppressed.

Is it not then high time to promote a strict Enquiry into all Measures, which may prove of pernicious Consequence to the *general Interest* of the Kingdom, as well as to the *Plantations*? Have I deserved such a Load of Reproach as has been laid on me, and to be charg'd as a *Calumniator*, for having furnished the Nation with some useful Hints? If they are *false* and *groundless*, as has been suggested, why are *more* Persons than *one* so much nettled at them? Why are they not exploded by *fair Arguments*, and *convincing Proofs*? But, if on Enquiry, it should appear, that the *South-Sea Company* have not any Right, by their *Charter*, or *otherwise*, to send Ships to *Guinea*; that they might as well pretend to trade to *Old Spain*, *Portugal*, or in any other Branch of the *British Commerce*, which is not under an *exclusive Charter*; or that the Nation suffers *more* by the Damage which the *Plantations* receive by their Trade, than any Advantages which they can possibly bring to it will compensate; why then, I am so far from being a *Calumniator*, that I may, without the Imputation of Vanity, be allowed to say, that I have been a useful Instrument to the Publick; and all the *fool* Language, which my *Opponent* has bestowed on me, with so liberal a Hand, will retort upon himself.

In pag. 33. this Writer says, That, *when the Method of Supply of Negroes came under the Consideration of the Court of Directors, at the last opening of the Asiento, it was found, upon looking back, that some Loss had been sustained under the preceding Direction by their Trade to Africa.* What hand they have since made of it, he has plainly discovered, in p. 29. where he owns, That the *Company had paid Duty for 500 dead Negroes, which cost them about 7 l. per Head Freight, and produced them not one Ryal: And for 500 more, not worth above 10 l. per Head.* Now if we compute those *Negroes* to stand the *Company* in no more than 12 l. per Head *Sterl.* on the Coast of *Guinea*, the *Master's Commission*, *Freight*, and all other *incidental Charges* added to it, the *Loss* they sustained thereby, (after the *Net-Produced* of the 500 *Negroes*, which he computes at 10 l. per Head, is deducted) in this single Article, amounts to about 20000 l.

Sterl.

Sterl. what then must their *whole Loss* be, if an Estimate were to be made, of all the *Negroes* which dy'd on Board their Ships at Sea ; the Number of which are known to be very considerable, several of them having lost one Fourth of their Compliment, and some near one Third ? Can it be said after this, that the *Company* are any Gainers by that Trade ? Or, that it would not have been more to their Advantage, to purchase what *Negroes* they were obliged to furnish the *Spaniards* with, of the *Guinea Merchants*, and which would have been less prejudicial to the *Colonies*, because private Merchants fit out cheaper, and inspect more narrowly into their Affairs, than *Companies* are known to do, and consequently could have furnished the *Planters*, as well as the *Company*, with *Negroes* at lesser Prices ?

BUT, it seems, he was of Opinion, pag. 33. *That Necessity alone of a Supply of Negroes, ought to induce the Company to prefer trading to Guinea, themselves ; but, that it were still better for them even to lose something on the Guinea Trade, rather than want Negroes for the Assiento, since the Duties were to be paid in all Events, and their Charges the same, under a deficient, as well as a full Supply of Negroes.* And in pag. 34. *That the Company were necessitated to take those Measures, to furnish themselves with Negroes, the Royal African Company failing in their Contract with the South-Sea Company ; and, the private Merchants, thereupon, raising the Price very considerably, and threatening to carry their Negroes to the Spanish Coast themselves, if they did not come up to their Prices.* How will he reconcile this Dread of wanting *Negroes*, and the Necessity the *Company* was under, of trading to *Guinea*, to what he asserted in pag. 28. where he observes, *That where the Carrion is, there will be the Crows ; and that the Northern, as well as Negro Traders, will send their Commodities to that Place, wherever it be, where the Company settles the Assiento.* And in p. 69. *That the private Guinea Traders relying, that the Assiento would have a further Demand for Slaves, over and above what the African Company had contracted for, fitted out more Ships than usual, and sent them*

them hither ; out of these the Assiento have, 'tis true, bought many Slaves, but they have left more to be sold to the Planters, amongst which, several whole Ships have been untouched by them. Are not these manifest Contradictions? And can it be said, with any Modesty, that the Company were necessitated to send Ships to Guinea, to furnish themselves with Negroes, after having declared, that the private Guinea Merchants fitted out more Ships than usual, relying on the Assiento, having a further Demand, over and above what the Royal African Company had contracted for?

NOR can it be pretended, that the *private Merchants* raised the Price of *Negroes*, and threatned to carry them to the Coast, if the *Company's* Factors did not come up to their Price ; since he has owned, that they had not only furnished themselves with as many as were wanted, but left more to be sold to the Planters ; and several whole Ships untouched.

BUT, says this Writer, *Mr. Pratter concurr'd with him in his Opinion, that Necessity alone of a Supply of Negroes, ought to induce the Company to prefer trading to Guinea themselves, &c.* This may possibly be true, since *Mr. Pratter* was his *Partner*, and we allow him to be a good natur'd Man : But, then, how came it to pass, that he was not of that Opinion before this *Writer* was associated with him? It is well known, that *Mr. Pratter* was in the *Company's* Service for some Years before, and in Co-partnership with a *Gentleman*, whose *Integrity* and *Skill* in Trade were never questioned by any one Person, who was acquainted with him ; yet, they never were under those dreadful Apprehensions of wanting a FULL SUPPLY of NEGROES ; they never thought it the *Company's* Interest to trade to *Guinea*, because they knew well enough, that the *Guinea Merchants* were able to supply them, and at easier Rates than the *Company* could import them, all Things considered. Nor did they think it advisable to send such great Numbers among the *Spaniards*, as have been exported of late Years ; because the same, or a greater Profit might arise to the *Company* by a less Number, even though they paid the *Duties* on what they were
deficient

deficient in, (according to the *Affiento Contract*) since the Trade for *Negroes* is *solely* vested in them, and the *Spaniards* are necessitated to take them at *such Prices* as the *Company's Factors* are pleased to value them at ; but, when they are *overstock'd*, and *more* are imported than they have an immediate Occasion for, the Case is alter'd, and they become very difficult in their Choice, and are for beating down the Price.

It is therefore obvious, not only from this *Writer's* own Words, which I have quoted, but from the Conduct of *those Gentlemen*, who preceded him, in the Management of the *Company's Affairs* at *Jamaica*, that there was *no want* of *Negroes*, nor any likelihood of it ; what then may we suppose to be the *true Reason* of the *Dread* which he was under, of wanting a full *SUPPLY* of *NEGROES*? Well, since he has been so modest as to decline telling his Readers, I will endeavour to help him out.

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| THE <i>Commissions</i> upon 8000 <i>Negroes</i> , which are said to be absolutely necessary for the <i>South-Sea Company</i> to import into <i>Jamaica</i> , in order to furnish the <i>Spaniards</i> with 4000, amount, at 25 Shillings <i>Sterl.</i> per Head, (which I am informed is what the <i>Company</i> allow their <i>Factors</i> at <i>Jamaica</i>) to - - - - - | } <i>Sterl.</i> 10000 l. per Ann. |
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| THE <i>Commissions</i> upon 4000 <i>Negroes</i> only, in case the <i>Company</i> were to purchase that Number in <i>Jamaica</i> , and to import none themselves, amount to - - - - - | } 5000 l. per Ann. |
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| THE annual <i>Difference</i> in the <i>Factors Commission</i> between the <i>Company's</i> trading to <i>Guinea</i> , or not, is - - | } 5000 l. per Ann. |
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Is not the Mystery unfolded ; And have I really hit the Mark ? And you, and your Partner, you say, have drawn so much Commissions more by the Company's trading to Guinea, than you would have done, had they continued to buy all the Negroes they wanted at Jamaica.

HINC ILLÆ CALUMNIÆ.

Confession has always something of Ingenuity in it ; and you say you are sorry for it, and that you'll write on our Side next. Well, there is no Occasion for that, I shall shew, you have done that enough already ; and though I think, with respect to your own Views, that you have carried the Jest a little too far : However, all Malice a-part, one good Turn deserves another, I will do you what Service I can in this Respect.

IN treating of the Assiento, in pag. 45. this Writer says, That the Fact now I take to be agreed between us, that the Assiento is very advantageous both to Jamaica and Great Britain ; and all the Difference that remains, must lie in the Method by which it is carried on.

WHERE have I declared any such Opinion ? And is not the contrary manifest by what I have asserted in my former, as well as in this Piece ? Wherein has he shewn the Assiento to be very advantageous to Jamaica, or to Great Britain ? It is notorious, that the former is almost ruined by it ; and this Writer himself declared at the Council-Board, that it was a losing Contract to former Assientists ; and that he doubted, after all the Advantages which the South-Sea Company had obtained, whether they were any Gainers by it. But this he seems to have forgot, and applying what I said of the Portuguese Assiento Company, to the present Assientists, what Trade, says he, but this can afford 25 or 30 per Cent. on Bottomree, in a six Weeks Voyage ? What Trade but this can furnish such frequent Opportunities of vending yearly in Spanish Ports in the Indies, such very considerable Quantities of British Manufactures ? This last Paragraph, I think, wants some Explanation. What does he mean by frequent Opportunities, and such very considerable

considerable Quantities of British Manufactures ? The annual Ships cannot certainly be called frequent Opportunities, (especially since the Company have made but 7 Voyages in 16 Years) nor are 500 Tons a very considerable Quantity of Goods, for so great a trading Nation to export once in about 2 Years. If he means any thing more, whose Interest does he betray ? For what possible Use or Purpose of his own, does this Writer blab out this Story ? Don Porcia, says he, a Castillian, but let him pass for a Portuguese, was the Assientist, who employ'd Don Jago Castillo, as his Agent at Jamaica, who, having no Stock of his own, and depending on the Credit and great Profits of the Contract itself, was obliged to give such Premiums as this Writer asserts. Here he degrades the Portuguese Assiento Company, into a private Contractor ; and, in other Places, jumbles them together : whereas they were two separate and independant Contracts. And in pag. 49. says, That Don Porcia was ruin'd by it ; and his Agent at Jamaica, Sir James Castillo, dyed half Starving, possess'd of nothing but a Knighthood.

It is certain, that the Portuguese were very considerable Losers by the Assiento ; that they parted with the Contract to some Grandees of Spain, and others, for a Sum of Money ; and, that Don Porcia, and Sir James Del Castillo, under him, were Managers for the Contractors : But I never heard that Don Porcia was the sole Assientist, or was ruined by it ; on the contrary, it is well known, that he cheated his Principals as well as Sir James, and dy'd in New Spain, not many Years since, in Possession of a vast Estate. Sir James Del Castillo did indeed dye poor ; but it was owing to his strict Honour and Puncto ; for Don Porcia not complying with his Engagements, Sir James, to make them good, mortgag'd all he had in the World. These Circumstances I thought proper to mention, as it shews how well vers'd this Writer is in the Transactions of those Times ; and from thence may conclude, what Dependance is to be had on his Assertions.

BUT, how many Negroes, says he, pag. 50. Sir James Del Castillo bought, is not said : And how can
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any Cause be tried, especially as to *Value and Extent*, from such Evidence? The Company, I will now tell him, bought near ten thousand Negroes, in about four Years Trade, beside about eight Thousand which they imported.

WHAT Number of Negroes Sir James Del Castillo bought, I cannot be positive in; but I have often heard it said, that he took the *Guinea Ships* Cargoes entire, without picking and culling them, as the *South-Sea Company* do. And that he even purchased such Negroes, as our *Planters* knew not what to do with, and were obliged to transport for Crimes; whereas the *Spaniards* will not now purchase them at any Rate, since they have been so fully supply'd, and with such Choice by the *South-Sea Company*.

As to the Number of Negroes, which have been exported within these 4 Years, that is one Point we complain of as hurtful to the *Plantations*, by making them scarcer and dearer; and it has been shewn, that it would be even the *Company's* Interest, to export a less Number, even though they pay the Duty to the *King of Spain*, on whatever they may be deficient in; because it is in their Power to feed the Market, and make it up in Price.

In fine, the Advantage which *Jamaica* received from the *Assiento*, when it was in the Hands of Don Porcia, and Sir James Del Castillo, this Writer acknowledges, in pag. 48. where he says, That it is Matter of Fact, that this was the time of *Jamaica's* greatest Prosperity, owing principally to the *Assiento Contract* being settled there; which being a constant Employ of Seamen in Trade, properly so called, and a constant Indraft of Money circulated in the Island, from the several Demands of the *Assiento*, and Supply of the *Spaniards*; And yet in pag. 49. he tells his Readers, That he never heard of but an inconsiderable Number, who were admitted into this *Bottomree Business*, nor of above one, who got considerably by it. And in pag. 52. That the *Assientist* being a Foreigner, employ'd foreign Factors on the Coast; and sometimes Spanish Shipping and Seamen. What Inferences can be drawn from Evidence, which consists

consists of such manifest Blunders and Contradictions ? For in one Page he tells his Readers, that *the former Assentists* were of Service to *Jamaica*, in a constant Employ of *Shipping and Seamen* ; and in the very next Page, that *they employ'd Spanish Shipping and Seamen* : again, that this was the time of *Jamaica's* greatest Prosperity ; and soon after, he says, that he never heard of but an inconsiderable Number, who got considerably by it. Had he apply'd this last Assertion to the present *Assiento Contract*, he might have met with great Numbers, as well as my self, who would have concurred with him in that Opinion.

BUT, says this Writer, in p. 50. *A short Comparison will shew, that this Contract of the South-Sea Company, in the Manner it has been exercised, has been considerably more advantageous to Jamaica, as well as to Britain, than the former.* The Advantages which *Jamaica* (and consequently *Great Britain*) received by the former *Assentists*, appears, by his own Confession, not only in the Passage before cited, but in p. 73. where he says, That *the most plentiful and happy Days Jamaica ever saw, was in the glorious Reign of K. William, when the Assiento was first settled by Foreigners amongst them* : But, wherein has he shewn, that the present *Assiento* is more advantageous to *Jamaica*, or to *Great Britain*, than the former ? The Contract, and the annual Ship are indeed new Channels of Trade ; but they are far from being allowed by those, who have any Notions of Commerce, to be more beneficial than the former, viz. the Trade which was carried on from *Great Britain* to *Old Spain*, and from *Jamaica* to *New Spain*, which is now interrupted, and in a Manner stopped up. And whoever will look back to the first Settlement of this Company, will find, that many eminent and worthy Merchants vigorously opposed the Acceptance of it, declaring, * *That the Company might very well spare the trying the Experiment of a Trade, by which other Nations were known to have been Losers ; especially upon such hard Terms, as were of-*

* Vide the Political State, for the Month of February, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$.

for'd to the Company; the rather, because the said Trade would be precarious, and at the Mercy of late reconciled Enemies? Has not Experience confirmed those Observations? Have we not found That Trade to be precarious, and at the Mercy of Enemies, who never have yet been thoroughly reconciled? Has not this Writer owned, that it was a losing Contract to former Assentists, and that he doubted whether the Company were any Gainers by it, after 16 Years Trial!

BUT supposing there was a real Profit arising to the Nation by the *Company's* Means, more than in the Channels which this Trade was formerly in; can this be said to be all Gain, or *new* Advantages to the Nation? No certainly; nothing more than what the Gain of the *Company* exceeds that of the *Spanish Merchants*, and the *Jamaica Traders*. And will that Profit, if any such there be, compensate for the Damage which *Jamaica* has sustained, much less the *Colonies* in general, whose Fate is in a Manner dependant on that Island, and must rise or fall with it?

IN ten Lines, says this Writer, *here is a String of about as many false Quotations, or Assertions: Which he contents himself with affirming very roundly, in his usual Manner, without offering the least Argument, or Voucher, in support of his Positions; the contrary of which will appear upon Enquiry: And then, I think, those modest Epithets will retort upon himself.*

I. THE private Trade to the SOUTH CAYS, he says, *has constantly subsisted, which is here insinuated to have been lost with the rest.* Whether the *private Trade* to the *South Cays* has constantly subsisted; or whether it has not been interrupted, as well as some other Branches of the Commerce with the *Spaniards*, I appeal to the Gentlemen of *Jamaica*, who are now in *England*; and, that the same Endeavours have been used, to put a Stop to it, tho' they have not prov'd altogether so effectual, will appear by the 7th Article * of the Representation of the Court of *Directors* of the *South-Sea Company* to his late Majesty.

* *Vide the Appendix.*

It may, perhaps, be said, that the *Company* have Authority from the K. of *Spain*, to seize and indult, to their own Use, all *Negroes* which are imported into *New Spain* by the *private Traders*; and, therefore that they are justifiable in so doing: But then this will be giving up the Question, and contradicting what he asserted in pag. 46. That the Condition of the private Trade can neither be attributed to the *Company*, or to the Fidelity, or Unfaithfulness of their Servants; because the obstructing the Importation of *Negroes* is in effect the same as if they obstructed the Importation of the *British Manufactures*; since the one helps off the other, and the same Guards, which are appointed to prevent the *private Trade* for *Negroes*, render it impracticable to vend any other Commodities amongst them. And is not this a Prejudice to *Great Britain* as well as to *Jamaica*? Is not the Vending of our own Product and Manufactures of greater Importance, than disposing of 3 or 4000 *Negroes* annually; since the one is a real Benefit, and the other may be attended with some bad Consequences, whatever Gain may, for the present, arise from it to the *Company*, or to the Nation?

BUT, supposing that the *Company* have a kind of Right from the King of *Spain*, by the *Affiento Contract*, to seize or indult all *Negroes*, which are imported among the *Spaniards*, by the *private Traders*; it is certain, that they have no such Authority from the *Laws* of their own Country; nor have they any *Charter* for that Trade exclusive of all others, either for *Negroes*, or any other Commodities, excepting in the *South-Seas*: And therefore, if the *Spaniards* have ever been incited by them, or their Servants, to fit out Vessels, or to take any other Measures to intercept the *private Traders*, and render their Commerce impracticable; such Proceedings, if any such have ever been, must be condemned by every true *Englishman*. And though I am unwilling to give Credit to the Reports, concerning the Manner and Means of Capt. George of *Carthage*, being fitted out several times to take and destroy the *private Traders*, yet, I hope it will, some time or other, be enquired into, as well as the Occasion of the Bay of *Campechy*'s being taken

taken from us, in Time of Peace, and above 20 Sail of *English Ships*, at one time, made *Prizes* of.

2. *HE* leaves his Readers, says this Writer, to suppose the Trade for Negroes to the South Cays, to be different from that of the Havanna, and St. Jago, and the Negroes employ'd to different Purposes.

THAT I have any where insinuated the Trade to the South Cays to be different from that of the Havanna, and St. Jago, I absolutely deny: But to what Purpose does this Writer assert Things so positively, without producing one Passage, as a Voucher for him? Is it not evidently designed to mis-guide his Readers, and to supply the want of Argument? Let him have Recourse to pag. 21. where he will find it said, That though there was but little Correspondence between Jamaica, and those Places; yet a considerable Trade was carried on to the South Cays, generally for Woollens, Linnens, and some Negroes, which were seldom the best. Is it not well known that the South Cays is a Back-Door to those Places? But can it be said, that there is no Difference between the Trade which is carried on to those Places by the South-Sea Company, and by the private Traders? Is there no Difference between supplying the Spaniards with choice able Negroes, and such as are seldom any others than what remain out of a Ship's Cargo, after the Planters have had the Picking of them, as is well known to those who have been concerned that Way?

3dly, *BUT* the Spaniards cannot export those Commodities themselves, for want of Navigation, and Seamen.

“ WOULD any one, says he, have expected this so soon after the Sailing of the *Flotilla*? I can inform him, that the Spaniards seldom or never want Navigation or Seamen there; whereas the Company's *Ships* have often wanted Freight, and returned Home empty.

Is the *Flotilla* an Argument that the Spaniards do not want Navigation or Seamen? or because they loaded and sent Home that Fleet, which consisted of between 20 and 30 Sail, that they could not have loaded a greater Number, if they had them? How comes it then

then to be worth while to send *Sugars* to *Old Spain* from *England* and *France*? Is it not owing to their want of *Navigation* to bring home sufficient for their own Consumption? And if the *Company* should continue to import their *Sugars* into *Europe*, when they are not able to do it themselves, (which I can, upon occasion, prove, by a Letter from a *Person* who was one of their *Agents* at the *Havanna*) will it not prejudice the *British Plantations*, and encourage the *Spaniards* to improve that Manufacture, by raising of more Works for that Purpose? Whereas they will be discouraged therein, if they cannot vend those Commodities, when they are made, not only for want of *Navigation*, but because we sail cheaper than they can do. Is it then possible, for this Writer to be so ignorant of the Affairs and Condition of the *Spanish Nation*? Or is it Disingenuity in him to repeat so often that they are in no want of *Navigation* or *Seamen*? This is a Point which requires nothing more to be said to it, since it is notorious, that their *Galleons*, chiefly consist of *Old English East India Ships*, and 2 or 3 others which were built at *Bristol*; and that their *Navy*, which they boast so much of, does not only consist, for the chief Part, of *Ships* bought of other Nations, but are mann'd with *Seamen* of several Countries.

BUT, says this Writer, (by way of Confirmation of what he asserted) the *Company's* *Ships* have often wanted Freight, and returned Home empty. By Home, I presume he means *Jamaica*; where he should have told his Readers, that they were discouraged from importing of *Sugar*, and such like Commodities, by reason of the Duties in that Island; and which is probably the true Reason of their *Ships* returning home empty: But, was there never any Attempt of this kind made by the *Company's* *Agents*, or *Servants*, even in *Spanish Bottoms*? What then was the Business of the *Schooner Bon Esperance*, which was seized by order of the late Duke of *Portland*, in the Year 1724? And may we not reasonably suppose, that her Condemnation was just and legal, since the *South-Sea Company* have not yet thought fit to prosecute the *Appeal*? Was not this an *Essay*? And can it be denied that she was actually designed for *Jamaica*,

Jamaica, since she was consigned to the *Company's* *Factors* there, as appeared by the Bills of Lading? I should be glad to see that *Affair* fully explained; and when that is done, I may, perhaps, furnish him with some farther Employment of the same kind.

4thly, *IT* is here insinuated, as if the *Company* had traded to the *Havanna*, and *St. Jago*, for Goods only; whereas the *Factors* are ordered to sell the *Company's* *Negroes* for Money, and never to take Goods but in Case of Necessity.

THE former Part of this Assertion, must be supposed to be entirely his own Invention; since he has not pointed out the Passage, which he pretends to found it upon? As to the Orders, which are said to be given by the *Company* to their *Factors*, I must own my self a Stranger to them; but however that may be, I may be allowed to say, that they ought to be restrained from importing any Commodities into *Europe*, which may prejudice the *British Plantations*; as the bringing of *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, and such like Commodities will manifestly do.

5thly, *BUT* no other Vessels, says he, are admitted into their Ports, except the *South-Sea Company's*, which carries with it an Insinuation, that none of the Product of *Cuba* can be carried away but out of their Ports.

THAT no other Vessels are admitted into the Ports of *New Spain*, is undeniable; and therefore I must tell this Writer, that no Traders, unless of their own Nation, and the *South-Sea Company*, can export their *Sugars*, which plainly appears to be my Meaning, though he would put a different Construction upon it.

6thly, *AND*, consequently, it is impracticable for any other Traders to take those Commodities off their Hands, when they are made: "Whereas, says he, in Fact, more Vessels of the private Traders have been laden, as well for *Jamaica*, as for *Europe*, with some of the Commodities of *Cuba*, during this last opening of the *Affiento*, than have been Freightied from the *Havanna*, and *St. Jago*, by the *South-Sea Company*". I had before been treating of *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, and such like

like Commodities as are produced in our *Plantations*; which, as he would here insinuate, the *private Traders* imported into *Jamaica*, as well as into *Europe*, in much greater Quantities than the *South-Sea Company* had done: whereas the Commodities, which they import from thence, are *Hides, Tallow, Snuff*, and such like Commodities, as cannot affect our *Colonies*, because they cannot go upon those *Manufactures*.

I CANNOT pass by one Observation more. *Would he*, says this Writer, *have no Treaties at all, but that the Trade should be left wholly to take its Chance from Jamaica? That, the Reader will see, will be liable also to Miscarriages: for this Writer himself will tell him, they have none yet, tho' the Assiento is shut, and their Factors come away.*

THIS contains an Assertion, that the *private Trade* is liable to *Miscarriages*; but is not the *Company's* much more so? for otherwise, how came it to pass, that they have not exercised the *Assiento Contract* above 6 Years in 16, nor made more than 7 Voyages in their *annual Ships* in all that Time? Is it not evident, that they are more liable to *Miscarriages*, since they are hourly at the Mercy of the *Spaniards*? Will any Advantages, which can possibly be derived from their Trade, compensate for those vast Losses the *Company* have sustained by Seizures in 1719, and 1726? There is, indeed, one plain Way of shewing the Advantages of the *South-Sea Company*; which is, by stating a fair Account of their Trade, and setting forth the Profit that has accrued to the *Stock*, and the *Nation* from thence. This will fully convince Mankind, and at once silence all the Clamours, which are made against the *Company*.

THEY have had no Trade yet, says he, from *Jamaica*, tho' the *Assiento* is shut, and their Factors come away. And what is the Reason of it? Why, we have a strong Squadron on that Coast, and the Apprehensions which the *Spaniards* are under of their committing Hostilities, obliges them to double their Guards, which render it almost impracticable. But, when they are removed, as well as our *false Brethren*, it cannot be doubted, that Things will of Course take their former Channel.

THUS I have waded through this Writer's Heap of Dirt and Rubbish, without having met with one fair Argument ; and though I am sensible how much the Subject I have been treating of has suffered, not only for want of Ability in me to set it in a better Light, but also from the present Situation of my private Affairs, which require my going Abroad in a very few Days : Yet however streightened I have been, as to Time, I was under the Necessity of making some Reply, in Justification of my own Character, as well as of the Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, who are evidently struck at by this Writer, which is the only Apology I can make for attempting it, especially at this Juncture.

BUT, notwithstanding, I hope the most material Points of this Controversy have been sufficiently explained, not only by those Reasons and Arguments which have been offered, but by the several Vouchers hereunto annexed, which will satisfy every impartial and disinterested Reader, that *Jamaica* was in Possession of a very considerable Trade, at the Time of the Establishment of the present *Affiento Company* : That this Trade did employ 1500 Seamen, which are now mostly removed to other Parts for want of Encouragement : That the *Affiento Company* is the principal Means of depriving *Jamaica* of so beneficial a Commerce ; and consequently of so considerable a Number of Inhabitants : And it farther appears, from the very Face of the Thing, that the *South-Sea Company's* trading to *Guinea*, and exercising the *Affiento Contract*, in the Manner they have done, may prove fatal, not only to *Jamaica*, but to all the *Sugar-Colonies*, and consequently to the General Interest of *Great-Britain*. It therefore cannot be doubted, that these several Grievances will be taken into Consideration, and proper Remedies applied, before it be too late ; and that the Good of the whole Community will always be preferred to the Interest of any particular Society, or Set of Men whatever.



P A R T II.

Wherein the Sophistry of this Writer is further exposed; and the several Aspersions, which are scattered throughout his Piece, are likewise considered.



HAVING touched on the most material Heads of this Controversy, as fully as my present Circumstances will admit of, it now remains, that I should take some Notice of the several Imputations, which this Writer has been so liberal in bestowing on the Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, as well as on my self. How has he laboured to represent them in the most obnoxious Colours to their Mother-Country? And, on the other hand, when he finds himself pinched in an Argument, he turns the Discourse into personal Reflections, and vainly hopes to gain his Point, by throwing Dirt at me, as well as at them.

As for Instance, in *p. 30.* he slightly touches on the Parallel which I made between *Wool* in *England*, and *Negroes* in the *Plantations*, as well as on the Inference I had drawn from thence; and instead of confuting them by fair Reasoning, he makes me argue, that as Encouragement is given in *England* for the Importation of

Wool, they lay an heavy *Duty* in *Jamaica* on *Negroes* ; whereas it will evidently appear, that my whole *Design*, in that *Argument*, was to take off the *Duty* on *Import*, and to lay it on *Export*, for the *Encouragement* of our own *Plantations* ; which would undoubtedly give them an *Advantage* over their *Neighbours*, in that *Respect*. “ Is not this an *Evidence* to what a Degree “ of *Infatuation Party-Principles* are capable of byassing “ Men of the quickest *Discernment* in indifferent Mat- “ ters, to find that such *Trash* as this can be cry’d up, and receive the *Thanks* of a *solemn Assembly*, who, by that *Vote*, have made his *Piece* their own ?

“ BUT I must still follow my *Leader*, slightly pas- “ sing by many lesser *Mistakes*, or I should never get “ to the *End* “. How roundly does he insinuate that I was the *Author* of the *Queries*, which were published in the *Craftsman*, without producing the least *Shadow* of a *Voucher* for that *Charge*, or endeavouring to confute any one single *Article* of them ? If I am not the *Person*, will he not be reproached for accusing an innocent Man ? And, if I am, will it be thought prudent in him to exasperate one, who knows so much of the *Company’s* *Affairs*, as the *Author* of those *Queries* seems to do ? And can he possibly flatter himself, that any particular Men in *Great Britain*, much less so wise and experienced a *Sub-Governor* and *Court of Directors*, will, upon farther *Consideration*, think him deserving of the *Applause* which they have given him ? And won’t he be told by them, that he has gone out of his *Depth* ; that his *Zeal* might have been commendable, and he might have been of some *Use* in making a *Noise* and *Clamour*ing at the *private Traders* ; that they would have been contented with his throwing *Dirt* at me, and blackning the *Inhabitants* of *Jamaica* : But, in handling such *Points*, as he has done, without clearing them, (especially in relation to the *Queries*, which it would have been more advisable in him to have thrown a *Veil* over) he has more mis-represented the *Company*, than all the *prejudiced Persons*, or even its *basest Enemies*, had ever done before him, or had been able to do. And that therefore, after all this, he must no longer expect that they will appear

appear for him, approve his Conduct, or own his Sentiments, much less recommend him for a *Director*, and his *Kindred* to other important Offices, which would now give too much Colour for their being supposed to have countenanced his Proceedings. So much I owe in Justice to the Injuries which this Writer has done the Directors of the *South-Sea Company*; the rest I leave to their *General Court*.

I must own my self at a Loss for this Writer's Meaning, in p. 32. *And does not such a Mole*, says he, *deserve to be unearth'd*, and --- Whatever it may be, I must tell him, that I never was afraid or asham'd of shewing my Face in any Company; nor am I any more apprehensive of being *unearth'd*, and --- than he is. No, says he, *don't do that; he has done you no harm; leave that to himself to do, or to his Friends in Jamaica, when they catch him there.* If I have done him *no harm*, why so *peevish*? Or how have I merited all this decent Language?

As to my Friends in *Jamaica*, I intend them a Visit very speedily; and have no Reason to doubt of being received there with the same Candor and good Nature, which I have always met with. My Conduct from my Infancy is well known to most of them. I never was *accused* of having taken EXORBITANT FEES, in my Office; nor was I EVER VOTED by the ASSEMBLY, an ENEMY TO THE COUNTRY, for advising and attempting an Alteration in their Constitution, and Form of Government.

THE great Pains which this Writer has taken to exasperate the *Lords* of the *Privy Council*, and the several *Great Companies* against me, not having the least Foundation to support them, will, of themselves, fall to the Ground. *His Reasoning on those Subjects, and his chimerical Inferences, are not, I think, capable of being more exposed, than as they stand martial'd by himself.* But, certainly, nothing can be more ridiculous, than for him to endeavour to raise a Prejudice in the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* against me, considering how he laboured, at the same Time, to mis-represent them to the World; and the Light they have always viewed him in. Can he possibly

sibly imagine, that the several impotent Insinuations, which are scattered throughout his Piece, will not rather inflame, than remove the Opinion which they formerly had of him ?

BUT when I reflect on this Writer's Prowess and undaunted Courage at *Assertions*, I am surprized, that he did not proceed to tell his Readers, by what Means he became so well acquainted with Matters of *Trade*, and the Transactions of the first *Settlers* of that Island ; of the former, I never heard that he ever pretended to have the least Knowledge, till he was taken into the Service of the *South-Sea Company* ; and though he owns, in pag. 19. *that he is not well enough vers'd in the History of those Days to be positive*, yet he proceeds with great Modesty to give an Account of the *Heroes of my Country*, as he calls them : For Instance, he tells his Readers, *That Capt. Coxon was one of the last of the Buccaneers, who did Wonders in Courage and Conduct ; and for his Mercy shewn in Victory, his great Bravery, &c. was seven Times pardoned by the Kings of England.* Now I profess, that though I have often conversed with some of the Contemporaries of those Days, and very lately enquired of one, who is now in *England*, yet I never heard that he ever was pardoned, or committed any Act which required it. He was, indeed, upon several Expeditions against the *Spaniards* ; particularly in the *South-Seas*, after the Peace with *Spain*, in 1670 ; and, upon the Complaint of the *Spanish Governors*, he was several Times taken up at *Jamaica*, and put under Confinement ; but was always acquitted upon hearing, by producing fair and regular Commissions from the Governor of *Petit Guavis*.

“ * BUT I confess my self, at this Time, moved with
 “ some Indignation against this Writer. How coldly does
 “ he pass over the Memories of Men, whose Atchieve-
 “ ments deserve to be celebrated by abler Pens than
 “ ours, and whilst he tells the World of the Fame

* Vide The Answer to a Calumny, p. 20.

“ of the *Heroes of my Country*, he leaves, in Oblivion,
 “ *those* whose Cause he pretends to espouse, and such
 “ as merit Statues, and Trophies in *Great Britain*, to
 “ their immortal Honour!

* I OWN I have read with Pleasure, amongst the Records of his *Company*, the Resolutions of their General Court, in 1720. to this Effect; I think it was upon Sir J—B—r’s trading Expedition to the Moon.

1. THAT *too great Affluence* would enervate the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom.
2. THAT *Poverty* would probably keep up the martial Spirit and Virtue of the People.
3. THAT, by an Indraft of the Nation’s Wealth into their Hands, the Publick would be benefited, and every Share in their Stock of 100*l.* would be worth 1000.

THIS last Resolution seems only calculated to take in such groveling Minds, as that of this Writer.

THIS MEMORABLE PLAN being thus laid, a handful of Heroes *Resolved, Executed, and wonderfully Succeeded.*

“ I wish I was able to do Justice to such Exploits;
 “ but how does this Writer of Memoirs treat such a
 “ Passage in the History of his own *Company*, in his
 “ Narrative? Why, instead of celebrating the Glory
 of these Men, and justifying their Fame, by informing his Readers, that a *certain Society*, being first settled upon an honourable Foundation, that of a *trading Company*, after the Manner of the *Britons*, they carried on several other successful Projects, which raised every Share of 100*l.* in their Stock, to 1000*l.* by which Means the *Company* grew immensely rich, the

* *Vide The Answer to a Calumny*, p. 20.

Hearts of the Fatherless and Widows were made glad, and blessed the Names of their great Patrons and Benefactors. Sir JOHN and his *Associates* were laden with Laurels, and the renowned G----by, from being a Coffee-house Boy, by his eminent Virtue, raised himself to the Honour of being led in and out of his Coach by two S----rs and G----rs. Instead of this, he sinks in his Account, all that is Great and Honourable, and degrades these Heroes into a *trading Company* only, which now and then furnishes the *Spaniards* with a few *Clever Girls*, as he termed them before an *august Assembly*.

I COULD here indulge my self farther in applauding Merit, as much as this Writer seems to have taken Pleasure in confounding Story ; but an *Enquiry* coming on, this Heroic Race of Men, who being of aspiring Dispositions, set their Virtue against the Law, and could not reconcile themselves to a *Plebeian Life*, are now obliged to appear with *faded Lustre* ; over whom I shall therefore throw a Veil, as well as on the Proceedings of their *Successors*, for fear of tiring my Readers, and offending their great *Modesty*.

BUT I must here do *this Writer* the Justice to observe, that he Apologizes for some *Defects* and *Omissions* in his Piece, and fairly confesses, that he wanted his *Mate*, Mr. Pratter, more than ever, whose Assistance had he had, he should have acquitted himself as much more to his own Satisfaction, as he should have done to all theirs, who are desirous of perfectly understanding the Trade in Question. That he wanted Mr. Pratter's Assistance, is the only Point in which I agree with him ; for he would not have made so many Blunders and Mistakes, had he been assisted by a Person who perfectly understands that Trade. But, I could put him in Mind of a Time when he would have been at a much greater Loss, had he not been joined with a Person of Mr. Pratter's Knowledge in Trade, as well as Application to Business. The sincere good Opinion which I have always had of that Gentleman, is well known to those who are personally acquainted with us ; and therefore the Charge
of

of *calumniating* my intimate Friend will appear in the same Light with his other Train of malicious Insinuations.

THE awkward Vindication which this Writer has made of himself and his Patrons, stands exposed in its own native View, since, as he himself seems to confess, it may be objected, *that what is said by a Servant and Dependant of their own, can be of no Use to the Company; because, no doubt, such People as they pay will praise the Bridge they go over.* But this Objection he easily removes out of his Way, by assuring his Readers, that he is *under no Influence, is entirely independant, and that these were his real Sentiments,* as he has express'd them in his Pamphlet, *before he had Thoughts of ever being in the Service of the South-Sea Company.* From whence, I suppose, we are to conclude, that he is not at present in their Service, nor expects any sort of Employment amongst them, or under them. What he says further upon this Head, as well as the Spirit and Aim of his whole Performance, made me reflect with my self, how easy it would have been to some *artful Creature* of the Gentlemen, who were in the Direction, in the Year 1720. (whose Office had afforded him Opportunities of raising a *Fortune*, from whence he might *assume* an Air of Independance) to have framed an Apology for the Conduct of those Gentlemen. He might have said that their *Design* was good, tho' the *Event* did not answer their Expectation; that they had no Eye to the many Opportunities of making *immense Gain to themselves*, but were guided meerly by a View to the Service of the *Company*, though they had unfortunately mistook the Way to it; and after he had confounded *Facts* with *Circumstances*, answered *Arguments* with *Fallacy*, and *plain Reasoning* with *Sophistry*, he might have concluded the *gross Piece of Flattery*, with Words to this Effect. "I am under no *Influence, or Dependance.* I am not capable of prostituting my self or Truth to serve any *Company or Government* whatever. I have no Motives to what I have written, but a Regard to Truth, and an Abhorrence of Scandal; yet, at the same Time, I must own, that *common Justice and Gra-*
G " *titude*

" titude engaged me in bearing my Testimony in the
 " Affairs of a Company, which I have had the Honour
 " to serve ; to which I became partly induced, (it would
 " be too much Vanity to say invited) by the Favour and
 " Friendship of a Gentleman, whose peculiar Affability
 " and Courtesy, and whose happy Talent at mixing the
 " Freedoms of a Friend with the just Authority of the
 " Patron and the Master, alters the very Nature of
 " Servitude and Dependance, and turns it into Pleasure,
 " and an Ambition to deserve. In Imitation of him, and
 " his Associates, I have laboured in the Vineyard with
 " all my Might, and though all our Fruits, as with a
 " Blast from Heaven, are blighted, like them I have
 " held fast my Integrity". An Apology, of this general
 Nature, was the best that could have been framed in
 the behalf of those Gentlemen ; and possibly such an one
 might have made its Appearance, if the universal Ca-
 lamity which their Conduct had brought upon the Na-
 tion, had not drawn down the Vengeance of a Parliament
 upon them, and by putting them out of Power, de-
 prived them of the Means of deserving so useful an Ad-
 vocate. But I am surprized that our Author should
 condescend to so undistinguishing a Strain of Panegyrick,
 and omit the fairest Occasion of employing himself in a full
 Vindication of his Patron, and the rest of his Friends.
 In pag. 23. he takes Notice of my *fly Observation*
 contained in the following Words, *Tho', possibly, there*
might have been a very considerable private Trade
carried on, which, perhaps, some of his Friends are able
to explain. How natural was it in this Place, for this
Answerer of Calumny to have deny'd the Truth of this
 Insinuation ; to have convinced the World, by fair Rea-
 soning, that the Clamour against some Gentlemen in the
Direction, as well as against their Agents Abroad, were
 injurious and groundless ; that no clandestine Trade was
 carried on, to the Detriment of the Company, by, or
 for the Use and Benefit of either ; but instead of such
 an Answer, he contents himself with awkwardly urging
 the *fly Observation*, as he calls it, for a Proof of an ex-
 tensive Trade ; and as for the rest, (that is, whether it
 be a justifiable Method of extending that Trade) he says
 he

he is to answer to the Company ; to whom, we have his own Word for it, he is not afraid to answer. I am at a Loss to know, whether in this Place by the *Company*, he means the *Proprietors* ; for they, I presume, would scrutinize too severely, and pass an heavy Censure upon such private *Traders* as shall be discovered to have been heaping up *Riches* in their Service, by a Conduct, if any such has been, which may have given Cause to the *Reduction of the Dividend* on their Stock, since the Seizure of the *Prince Frederick*, and some other Losses they have met with, are said to be on Account of a *Contraband Trade*.

It is needless to remark this Writer's *Fondness*, and great *Conceit* of himself, which flows throughout his whole Performance ; and while he complains of a *supposed Calumny*, notoriously *squints* not only at me, but at the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* in general, the *East India Company*, and all the *South-Sea Company's Agents* Abroad. We have, however, even his Word for it, that the *Company* are happy in having one judicious honest Factor, beside himself ; and though I have not the least Design of detracting from Mr. *Pratter's* deserving Character, yet I can't help observing how natural it is for a Man to speak well of a *Partner*, whose Interest is blended with his own.

BUT, here it may be objected to me in my Turn, that I have, in some Measure, deviated from the Rules I set out with ; and while I complain of his *Squinting*, am guilty of it my self ; though not in so notorious a Degree. Upon which I would ask the Reader, how far it would move him to be charged with *Calumny* and *Falshoods*, and to have the *Stamp* of the *South-Sea Company* set on it, by the Thanks of the *Court of Directors*, returned to this Writer, for his *pretended Answer*. This must be allowed the *highest* Provocation, and such as will fully justify any Expression, which has fallen from my Pen. Time may, perhaps, induce those *Gentlemen* to entertain very different Sentiments to what they do at present ; but however that may be, I do hereby declare, that if I find any farther Attacks on my *Character* or *Interest*, I shall not be intimidated

thereby from working up some other Materials, which I have by me, into a *Secret History*, and publish it to the World.

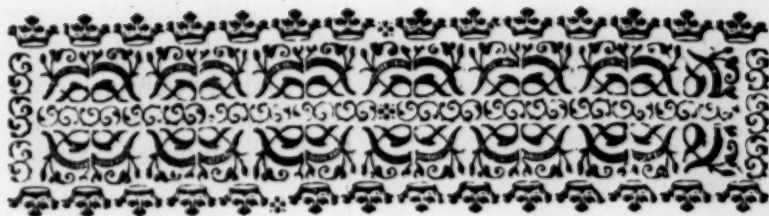
A T present I shall conclude with a few *Queries*, and when they are answered, perhaps some *others*, which are much *stronger*, may make their Appearance.

Query 1. WHETHER the *Royal African Company* did not import into the Island of *Jamaica*, in the Years 1722, and 1723. pursuant to their *Contract* with the *South-Sea Company*, upwards of four thousand *Negroes*; and whether the *Factors* to the *South-Sea Company* made Choice of more than one thousand nine hundred out of the said Number?

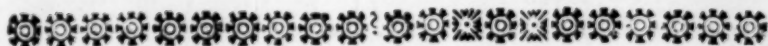
2. WHETHER a much greater Number might not have been chosen out, which were *proper* for the *Affiento*; and whether those *Negroes*, which were refused, on *pretence* of their being improper for the *Spaniards*, were not sold at *advanced* Prices to the *Planters*, and to *private Merchants*, who sent them out, as I have been informed, to the Coast of *New Spain*?

3. WHETHER the *Factors* to the *South-Sea Company* at *Jamaica* were not offered several Ships of *Negroes*, which they refused in 1722, and 1723. particularly the *Berkley Galley*; and whether that Ship's Cargo, as well as *others*, being re-exported, were not on Account of their *Refusal*, and the *Planters* not being in a Condition to purchase, for want of Provisions?

4. WHETHER the not taking of a greater Number of the *African Company's* *Negroes*, and refusing to purchase several Cargoes of the private *Guinea Merchants*, was not calculated to *discourage* the Importation of *Negroes*, in order to make it *necessary* for the *Company* to trade to *Guinea*: And whether the *Factors* at *Jamaica* have not, by that Scheme, drawn almost double the Commission they would otherwise have done?



APPENDIX.



*A LIST of the Super-Cargoes, and
Commanders of Sloops, employ'd from
Jamaica to the Coast of New Spain,
from the Year 1712, to 1715.*

*N. B. Those mark'd thus, * traded to Carthage-
na, and Porto Bello, the others to different Parts
of New-Spain.*

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| * <i>M</i> <i>R. Lewis Galdy.</i> | <i>Mr. Peter Willmot.</i> |
| * <i>Mr. Thomas Wood.</i> | <i>Capt. Andrew Crean.</i> |
| * <i>Mr. Leopold Stapleton.</i> | * <i>Mr. James Garvey.</i> |
| * <i>Mr. Richard Sharp.</i> | <i>Mr. John Silvius.</i> |
| * <i>Mr. James Comerford.</i> | * <i>Capt. Henry Thornton.</i> |
| * <i>Mr. Paul Crean.</i> | * <i>Capt. Jonathan Barnet.</i> |
| * <i>Capt. Enoch Stevenson.</i> | <i>Capt. William Worster.</i> |
| * <i>Capt. - - - Margarity.</i> | <i>Capt. William Cook.</i> |
| * <i>Capt. Francis Fernando.</i> | <i>Capt. James Fran. Targier.</i> |
| * <i>Capt. - - - Lidderdale.</i> | <i>Capt. John Stevens.</i> |
| <i>Capt. William Musto.</i> | <i>Capt. Stephen Smith.</i> |
| <i>Capt. Edward Thomas.</i> | <i>Capt. Samuel Lyddall.</i> |
| * <i>Capt. - - - Leferier.</i> | <i>Capt. Richard Farril.</i> |

Capt.

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Capt. William Quarrel. | * Mr. Isaac Carvallio. |
| Capt. Matthew Muffon. | Capt. William Foster. |
| Mr. John Toms. | * Mr. Dies Fernandez. |
| Capt. - - - Thurstan. | Mr. David Johnson. |
| Capt. Benjamin Lee. | Mr. Luke Garvey. |
| Capt. - - - Lawfon. | Capt. Penington Stevens. |
| * Mr. Aaron Portello. | |

WE, whose Names are underwritten, do hereby certify whom it may concern, that we resided several Years at Jamaica, and that we personally knew the Merchants and Commanders above-mentioned, who were separately employed in the Spanish Trade, particularly from the Year 1712, to 1715. during which Times, there was a very considerable Commerce carried on, and till the several Assiento Factories were settled at Jamaica, and other Parts of America, to which the Inhabitants of that Island in general impute the Loss of their Trade.

WE do likewise certify, that the major Part of the Persons above-mentioned were married, and settled with their Families on the Island; and, that very few of them had ever been Privateers.

Witness our Hands, in London, this 25th Day of February, 1717.

James Heywood.
John Lewis.
Robert Smithson.
E. Wright.
Alexander Brown.
Francis Oldfield.



EXTRACTS of the 7th, 24th, and 25th Articles of the Representation of the Court of Directors of the South-Sea Company, to his late Majesty, relating to the Difficulties they labour under, with Respect to their Trade, &c. Presented the 24th of September, 1718.

VII. **N**otwithstanding by the 18th Article of the *Affiento*, it is stipulated, That during the Continuance thereof, it shall not be lawful for any other Persons, than the present *Affientists*, to introduce *Negroes* into the *Spanish West-Indies*; yet the *Company* are assur'd, That there have been introduc'd into *Peru*, since the Commencement of the *Affiento*, upwards of 3000 *Negroes* clandestinely, and that most of them had been mark'd by the Royal Officers, and gone up with their Dispatches, by which Means they pass as if they had been legally imported: And it is rendred impossible for the *Company* to reap the Benefit intended by the 18th and 19th Articles of seizing and indulting to their own Use, all *Negroes* unduly imported. There have been likewise great Introductions of *Negroes* clandestinely at *Puerto Principe*, from whence they are brought to the *Havanna*, and the *Company's Factors* have been obstructed in their Endeavours for preventing the

the same ; a particular Instance whereof the *Company* are advis'd, viz. That their *Agent* having Notice of several large Introductions of *Negroes* clandestinely at *Puerto Principe*, the *Company's* *Factor* authoriz'd a Person of the best Estate, and fairest Character, to seize all such *Negroes* as should arrive on that Coast after the Date of the said Power ; and also to inform himself of what *Negroes* had been introduced since the present *Affiento*, in order to lay an Indulto on them ; but that Person was prevented from putting the same in Execution, the Populace at *Puerto Principe* threatning, That if he offer'd to seize a *Negro*, or disturb the private Traders, they would hang him and his Power on the tallest Tree.

XXIV. The *Company* are inform'd, that the Governor of *Carthagena* oblig'd the *French* Factor residing there, to leave in the Hands of Don *Diego Gomez Hidalgo*, a Merchant of that City, 16,000 *Pieces* of *Eight*, as a Security for indemnifying the said Governor and the Royal Officers, for giving Liberty to the late *French Affiento Company* to introduce *Negroes* from *Jamaica* in *English* Vessels, contrary to the King of *Spain's* Cedula, which restrain'd the same only to *Spanish* or *French* Vessels, until such Time as the said *French* Company should procure His Catholick Majesty's Cedula for approving thereof, &c.

XXV. The *French* Agent at the *Havanna*, having imported into that Place, since the present *Affiento*, 570 *Negroes*, making 419 *Pieces* of *India*, as appears by an authentick Certificate transmittted to the *Company's* Agent at *Madrid*, &c.





A

SUPPLEMENT.

LHAD drawn these Sheets to their designed Length, and sent them to the Press, when I accidentally met with a little Pamphlet, which was published in 1714. entitled, *The Trade granted to the South-Sea Company consider'd with relation to Jamaica*. As it contains some Passages which corroborates what I have said on that Subject; and others, which were untouched not happening within my Knowledge, as I was then Abroad, I beg leave to transcribe them.

THE Author, who seems to be well acquainted with the Affairs of that Island, address'd that Piece to one of the *Directors* of the *South-Sea Company*; which, as he expresses himself, was occasioned by a *Discourse on the Subject of their settling their Factory there*. Whatever Views he might have at that Time, he honestly enough shews the Advantages it would be of to the *Company*, as well as to *Great-Britain*; and how shamefully it had been neglected and treated, not to say insulted. Whether any Part of the *Plan*, which he complains of, hath since been put in Execution; or whether it is not evident, from this little Treatise, as well as from some other Pieces which were then published,

H

that

that it was laid down as one of the *Maxims* of the *South-Sea Company* from their first Establishment, to suppress the Trade of the *Jamaica Merchants*, the Reader will be able to form some Judgment : And from thence, as well as from other Circumstances, may conclude, whether they have not all the Reason in the World, to attribute the *Loss of their Trade*, and consequently of the *Desertion* of near one half of its Inhabitants to that *Company*.

THIS Author declares that his Intent was to reconcile the *Company* to the Island of *Jamaica*, which, *he says*, would be for the Advantage of *both* ; and therefore he should be glad to see them *united*.

“ I AM the rather induced to undertake this, *says he*,
 “ because it is so much the Interest of *Britain*, that
 “ *both* should flourish, and because it seems so very
 “ easy and obvious that this is the Way to it ; and yet
 “ I find many Gentlemen who have not had any Ex-
 “ perience in the *West-Indies* themselves, have very few
 “ distinct Notions about them, and have therefore been
 “ the easier led into a very strong *Byass* against it. And
 “ though there are many Persons who are much better
 “ able than my self to inform the *Company*, none have
 “ given themselves the Trouble to do it, at least with
 “ the same View, and, as I may presume to say, with
 “ the same Impartiality.

“ HOWEVER willing, *Sir*, you have been, and some
 “ few others, to entertain this Proposition at all Times,
 “ you have agreed it was to little Purpose to advance
 “ it till very lately ; the *Torrent of Power* rush'd vio-
 “ lently another Way, sufficient to *bear down* all that
 “ oppos'd it, and was not to be stemm'd, but by chang-
 “ ing its Course, and bringing it back into its former
 “ Channel.

“ BUT to come to the Matter in hand ; All that I have
 “ seen published upon this Subject, like most other
 “ Propositions at that Time, were apparently *calcu-*
 “ *lated* for some *private End* ; the *South-Sea Company*
 “ (however sensible they may now be of having been
 “ ill used by their own Parents) were not so sensible of
 “ it a little while ago. They were generally confi-
 “ dered,

“ dered, and considered themselves as a *Creature* of the
 “ Court, and submitted a long Time to its *Directions*.
 “ The *Advocates* for the Court, or rather those in the
 “ Secret for carrying on the Design of the *Managers*
 “ of the *Affiento Contract*, (for indeed they were the
 “ greatest Enemies to the Court,) thought it neces-
 “ sary to the proving what Advantages would accrue
 “ to the *Company*, and to the Nation thereby, to mag-
 “ nify those which had been enjoy’d by *Jamaica* du-
 “ ring the War, [as if *Britain* at that Time had no
 “ Concern in it] under the *ungrateful* Denomination
 “ not only of a Secret, but a fraudulent and unlawful
 “ Trade, and therefore an Inference was drawn [how
 “ reasonable will appear immediately] that the Island
 “ of *Jamaica* was for the future to be avoided as a Rock
 “ in the Sea, and the *Jamaica* Merchants to be regard-
 “ ed as no better than Robbers and Pyrates in Trade,
 “ who ought to have been punish’d by the Governor
 “ of *Jamaica*.

“ AND yet this fraudulent and unlawful Trade, as it
 “ has been lately called by them, had no less than an
 “ Act of *Parliament* pass’d the 6th of *Queen Anne*, for
 “ its Encouragement, entituled, *An Act for the En-*
 “ *couragement of the Trade to America* : In which Act
 “ the Manner of Trade carry’d on at that Time with
 “ the *Spaniards* by the *Jamaica* Merchants, was so
 “ particularly described, that the *Parliament* could not
 “ be impos’d upon in it.

“ BESIDES, Her late Majesty had been likewise
 “ pleased to countenance that Trade in a very parti-
 “ cular Manner, by Her Instructions to the Governor
 “ of *Jamaica*, and to send Blank Passes from K. *Charles*,
 “ then King of *Spain*, to be given and employed as
 “ Occasion should require, for the more effectual carry-
 “ ing it on : How *insolent* was it to the Queen, as well
 “ as *unjust* to Her Subjects, after this to treat them as
 “ Pyrates in Trade, and threaten them with Punish-
 “ ment for doing that which Her Majesty and Her
 “ *Parliament* had thought fit to encourage them to
 “ do ?

" BUT this was lately so much forgot, and so little
 " was any Encouragement to this *Colony* any more
 " thought of, which had, during the War, afforded
 " *Great Britain* (for it self had a very small Share in
 " it) the Opportunity of a considerable Trade, besides
 " its own Manufacture, and which must be allow'd to
 " have been a considerable Help towards carrying on
 " the War, and to whose *Situation* was likewise owing
 " all the *Successes* of the *British* Arms in that Part of
 " *America*; that one Action of Sir *Charles Wager's* in
 " destroying the *Galleons*, having been in its Conse-
 " quence equal to a glorious Campaign: And yet, I
 " say, so little Regard was lately had to an Island so
 " considerable, as if there was no likelihood of ever
 " having any further Use or Occasion for it; that it
 " was so shamefully neglected by some, whose *Business*
 " and *Duty* it was to have protected and encouraged it,
 " and so scandalously traduced by others, that it would
 " undoubtedly have been brought, in a very little
 " Time, into evident *Danger* of falling into the Hands
 " of *France*, upon any new *Rupture*, unpitied and un-
 " regretted.

" THOUGH this would, in all Probability, have been
 " the Consequence, had Matters gone on upon the Foot
 " they then were; I am loth to be so uncharitable as
 " to believe that to have been the *Design* of it, though
 " some don't scruple to believe and say it. For my
 " Part, I think the whole *Mystery* was unfolded in the
 " Examination before the House of Lords, in the Bu-
 " siness of Capt. *Johnson*, if a principal *Factory* was
 " to have been Establish'd at *Jamaica*, such a private
 " and clandestine Trade as appear'd there to be intend-
 " ed to be carried on to the Prejudice of the *Compa-*
 " ny, could not so safely have been carry'd on by that
 " or any other Way, as directly to the Coast of *New*
 " *Spain*, nor have been so secretly manag'd as by the
 " sole Employment of *Jews*, *Papists*, and *Spaniards*:
 " You, Sir, who had so considerable a Share in de-
 " tecting that projected Piece of *Fraud*, and thereby
 " render'd very great *Service* to the Nation as well as
 " the *Company*, in putting a Stop to such *Proceedings*,
 " will,

“ will, I am perswaded, have had little Difficulty to discern through the whole *Scheme*, of avoiding the Isle of *Jamaica* as a Rock, and to determine who really design’d to be the *Robbers* and *Plunderers* in that Trade.

“ BUT I assure my self, this Danger to *Jamaica* is over; and as the *Company* are already, by the Wisdom and Justice of the present Administration, restor’d to a perfect Liberty of consulting its own Advantage, without Dependance on any private Dictator, so I make no Question but the like Regard will now be had to all Parts of His Majesty’s Dominions, and the Interest and Safety of all His Subjects.

“ THE Case fairly stated, was never between the Trade of the *South-Sea Company* and that of *Jamaica*; which imaginary Competition was artfully given out to blind the *Company* and prejudice them both, by creating Jealousies between them; but the Question with the *South-Sea Company*, was, Whether they could carry on their Trade, especially the *Assiento Contract*, any other Way, so well as by the Way of *Jamaica*?

“ WHAT is therefore now to be done, is no more than to convince the *South-Sea Company*, that it will be most beneficial for them to settle their principal Factory there, to determine them to do it; and indeed, unless such extraordinary Methods had been made use of to frighten them from it, it would appear altogether unnecessary, and a Work of Super-erogation to any Person, the least experienc’d in the Trade of that Part of the World, to use many Arguments about it; but the plainer that will now be made appear, the grosser will appear the Abuses of those who had so successfully prejudic’d the *Company* against it.

“ THE only Thing I don’t remember to have heard the *Jamaica* Merchants accused of, has been want of Understanding how to carry on this Trade whilst they had it in a most beneficial Manner: Their Enemies have never reproach’d them with not carrying their Slaves directly from the Coast of *Africa*

“ to

" to that of *New Spain* (which they might have done
 " notwithstanding the War, as well as the *French*, had
 " they thought it their Interest) nor with making use of
 " any other prejudicial Methods, but have allow'd them
 " to have been *Gainers* by their Trade, however col-
 " lusive they have reckon'd it ; and though it has been
 " carefully avoided by the *Projectors* of the *Affiento*
 " *Contract* (as appears with no good *Design* to the
 " *Company*) that any Rule or Information should be had
 " or taken from any of those *Traders* ; yet it is now
 " presum'd, that *Mist being taken from before their*
 " *Eyes*, they will examine for themselves, and de-
 " termine upon the like Method if more advantagious,
 " whatever other Manner of Trade may have been pro-
 " cur'd for them by Treaty at their own Election.

" WHEN I have nam'd the Situation of *Jamaica*, I
 " am sensible you will readily comprehend all the Force
 " of my Argument. It seems altogether needless to
 " mention its Latitude or Longitude, or those of St.
 " *Martha*, *Carthagena*, *Porto Bello*, *Le Vera Cruz*,
 " and the *Havanna*, with the rest of *Cuba* all surround-
 " ing it : It will be needless likewise, to mention the
 " Trade-Winds, or the Navigation in those Seas. You,
 " Sir, know the Map, and all those Things much bet-
 " ter than I do, and will as readily make the Observati-
 " on, That there is no one Place whatsoever, if one had
 " one's Choice of the whole, that lies so commodious
 " for all the Trading-Parts of the *Spanish West-Indies*,
 " from the Entrance of the *Charibbe-Islands*, to the
 " Gulf of *Mexico*, as *Jamaica* does ; Methinks, if
 " *Jamaica* belong'd to the *Spaniards*, it might still
 " be a Question, if it were not the *Company's* Advan-
 " tage to trust them with their *principal Factory*, by
 " reason of the Conveniency it has in its Situation
 " above any other Place. But I own, whilst such an I-
 " land, so conveniently situated for an *English Compa-*
 " *ny*, has belong'd to the Crown of *Great Britain*, it has
 " seem'd a Paradox to me, to find them seeking after
 " Settlements in *Spanish Dominions* ; I mean, such Set-
 " tlements as were intended by the *Contract* ; such as
 " making *Plantations*, building *Ware-Houses*, laying in
 " *Stores*, &c.

“ BUT as commodious as *Jamaica* lies for carrying
 “ on the Trade with the *Spaniards*, its Situation never
 “ has been, nor ever can be, of any Advantage to it,
 “ but from the concurrent *Advantage* and *Assistance* of
 “ *Britain*.

“ DURING the Time *Jamaica* is said to have had this
 “ Trade, it was the Merchants of *London* and *Bristol*,
 “ who sent their Ships to *Africa* with the *Manufacture*
 “ of *Britain*, with which they purchas’d Slaves, and
 “ sent them to *Jamaica*; out of which proper Assort-
 “ ments were made for the Coast of *New Spain*, and
 “ the *Sloops* of *Jamaica* were employ’d as the *fittest*
 “ and *cheapest* Vessels for the Importation of them to
 “ the *Spaniards*; whilst they made their Voyages, the
 “ rest of the Slaves were sold to the Planters, and the
 “ Merchant-Ships were taking in their Freight of the
 “ *Manufacture* of the Island, and by the Return of the
 “ *Sloops*, were ready to sail back with their Returns,
 “ part in *Bullion*, and part in *Sugar*, *Indigo*, *Pimento*,
 “ *Cotton*, or other Produce of the Island to *Britain*,
 “ where the *Profit* of the Voyage center’d.

“ THE chief Advantages which accrued to *Jamaica*
 “ from this Method of Trade, was, the *Employment*
 “ of their *People*, the bringing Plenty of *Negroes*, and
 “ all kind of *Provisions* and *Stores* from *Britain*, *Ireland*,
 “ and the *Northern* Plantations to their Market. The
 “ keeping up the *Price* of their *Commodities*, and ma-
 “ king Freight *reasonable*, by the Number of Shipping
 “ it brought to the Island: All which Advantages it is
 “ conceiv’d would remain to them, if the *South-Sea*
 “ *Company* continued to make the *same Use* of them.
 “ And in return of which the Island will most certainly
 “ afford the *Company* reciprocal Advantages.

“ EXPERIENCE [perhaps the best Argument in
 “ Trade] has confirm’d the *Method* practis’d by the *Ja-*
 “ *maica* Merchant to be the best, if not the only one
 “ for furnishing the *Spaniards* with *Negroes* to any Ad-
 “ vantage; the Demands of the *Spaniards* are gene-
 “ rally for complete Slaves, Men and Women in their
 “ Prime of Life, or Boys and Girls, all clean Limb’d,
 “ Healthy, without Blemish or Defect, and such Men

“ or

“ or Women are what they usually call *Piezas de India*,
 “ and though two Slaves or more, by reason of their
 “ Age or Size, may be reckon’d as one Piece of *India*,
 “ with respect to the Duty, yet it is very rare that they
 “ will buy any Slave the least defective or disfigur’d,
 “ tho’ it be but in the Tip of an Ear.

“ Now as Ships on the Coast of *Africa* must Slave as
 “ they can, and do usually bring from thence *Negroes*
 “ of *all* Sorts, whereof hardly ever *above* two Thirds
 “ are fit for the *Spaniards*. It becomes *necessary* upon
 “ this Account, to touch first at some other Place to
 “ make the Assortment proper for the *Spaniards*, and to
 “ secure a Market for the Remainder. Besides, Ships
 “ from the Coast of *Guinea* frequently arrive in a very
 “ *sickly* Condition in *America*, and sometimes with the
 “ *Small Pox* amongst them, in which Case nothing can
 “ be more for the Advantage of the Slaves as well as
 “ their Owners, than to shift them into fresh Vessels,
 “ from those that are Distemper’d, and so to send them
 “ with a fresh Supply of Water and Provisions to the
 “ Coast of *New Spain*, where a contagious Sicknefs a-
 “ mongst the Slaves (especially if they should be obli-
 “ ged to continue any Time aboard after their Arrival)
 “ might ruin the whole Voyage.

“ AND this would probably as often happen as Ships
 “ arrived with the *Small Pox* aboard. It being requi-
 “ red by the 21st Article of the Contract, *That when-*
ever the Ships of the said Assentists shall arrive in the
Ports of the Indies with their Cargoes of Negroes, the
Captains thereof shall be obliged to certify, that there is
not any contagious Distemper amongst them, without
which they shall not be admitted.

“ BUT besides it is not likely they will always find
 “ a very *quick* Market. The *Spaniards* will wait to
 “ *lower* the Price; which the *Jamaica* Merchants al-
 “ ways *experienced*, meeting with great *Delays*, on some
 “ Pretence or other, as often as they carry’d their Slaves
 “ without a *previous* Demand by their Correspondents;
 “ Upon which Occasions of a *previous* Demand, it has
 “ ever been that they have made the best Voyages, and
 “ sold their Cargoes *entire*, and been *immediately* dis-
 “ patch’d.

“ BUT

“ B U T I think, *Sir*, all these and other Inconveni-
 “ encies were to be remedied by *Privileges* yielded to
 “ the *Company*, such as building *Store-Houses*, lay-
 “ ing in of *Stores* of all Kinds, landing their *Negroes*
 “ in some *Cases*, and settling *Plantations* for their bet-
 “ ter Refreshment and Subsistence ; and this by a *nota-*
 “ ble Contrivance was to be done by the *Slaves* them-
 “ selves, as a moderate Exercise only to keep them in
 “ Health, until they should be disposed of.

“ N O W supposing these *Privileges* to afford the *Com-*
 “ pany all the *real* Conveniencies for their *Shipping*
 “ and *Trade* that *Jamaica* could afford them, I will
 “ venture to say they would cost them *ten* Times as
 “ much ; every Body knows the *Dearness* of Labour,
 “ and the *Scarcity* as well as *Dearness* of *Provisions* up-
 “ on the Coast of *New Spain*, which will concern the
 “ *Factories* on Account of their own Living as well as
 “ their *Slaves* ; the same *Expence* of *Store-Houses* and
 “ all *necessary* Accommodations for their *Ships* and
 “ *Slaves* must be made in every *Factory* as in any one :
 “ There being no two Ports, except *Carthagena* and
 “ *Porto Bello*, which lie near so *Commodious* for the
 “ Assistance of one another as *Jamaica* does for them
 “ all.

“ P. 12. I THINK there is very little to be said for Plant-
 “ ing at all, in which Case the *Company* must necessarily
 “ do like other Planters. They must stock their *Plan-*
 “ tations with proper *Slaves*, whom they must cloath
 “ and encourage to build Houses for themselves and
 “ Families, and fix them therein, and run the *Hazards*
 “ of Sicknes, &c. which all Planters do, and which
 “ are always greatest in *New Settlements*, and with
 “ unseason'd *Negroes*.

“ I F this were to be done among the *Spaniards*,
 “ there would probably be little Land to be found at
 “ any reasonable Distance from the Ports, which was
 “ worth any Body's while to plant, they must go into the
 “ Neighbouring Mountains to look for it, and when
 “ they had done, they would find it had been very
 “ much their *cheapest* Way to have sent to *Jamaica* to
 “ have bought those very *Provisions*, rather than planted
 “ them.

" BUT whoever will consider the 24th, and 35th Articles of the *Contract*, and compare them together, will easily comprehend the Favour that is intended the *Company* by this Privilege of Settling *Plantations*; The Duties are agreed to be due from the Day of Landing the Slaves in any of the *Spanish* Ports, and to be paid, though the *Negroes* dye before they are sold, except only, if they are dangerously ill, then indeed they shall be put a-shoar for their Health, and must out-live the 15th Day, after which Time, if they dye, the Duty is to be paid. And I am very much afraid if the Slaves are brought directly from *Guinea*, those *Plantations* will only serve to invite them to Land under *Pretence* of Recovery, in order to fix the Duty, but will be of more Use for a Burying-Place for them, than for their Refreshment or Preservation.

" I BELIEVE I may say there is scarcely one Ship arrives from *Guinea* with three, four, or five Hundred *Negroes* aboard, whereof there is not from ten to thirty, and sometimes twice as many, which are not worth 5 *l.* a Piece when they arrive, and yet, in all Probability, may not only out-live fifteen Days, but with great Care and Nursing, most of them may recover; I confess I can't tell by the *Contract*, what the Duty is to be that such Slaves are to pay, or how many of them are to go to a *Piece de India*; I think it very unreasonable they should pay any, and yet I see no Way to avoid it, but by going first to *Jamaica*.

" IT'S true, the *Portuguese* and the *French* who have both had the *Assiento*, carry'd it on with their great Ships directly from *Guinea* to the Coast of *New Spain*, but good part of that Time *Mexico* was very ill supply'd, and it is agreed on all Hands the *Assentists* lost considerably by it; and it looks as if the latter had found by *Experience* that it was owing in some Measure to their *Method* of Trade, since they had endeavour'd of late to try another, by a Settlement they made use of for that Purpose at the Island of *St. Thomas*.

" DURING part of the Reigns of King *James* and King *William*, *Don Nicholas Porcio*, a *Spaniard*, undertook the *Assiento*. He manag'd it by an Agent,

" who had liberty to reside at *Jamaica*; [a Preference
 " the *Spaniards* would not have given to it, had they
 " not been convinc'd of its Advantages over *all* other
 " Parts of the *Indies*] this Agent was *Don Castillo*, af-
 " terwards Knighted by King *William*; and he ha-
 " ving proper Factors at the several Ports on the *Spanish*
 " Coast, to give him Advice from Time to Time of
 " the Demand for Slaves, and the Contracts made for
 " them, had no more to do than to purchase them of the
 " *English* Merchants as they came to Market at *Jamai-*
 " *ca*, and the Price agreed for with the *English* was
 " generally paid in Silver or Gold upon the *Delivery*
 " of the Slaves at the particular Ports to which they
 " were consigned.

" IT must be granted, *Don Porcio* succeeded no
 " better as to his particular Gain by the *Assiento* than
 " the *French* and *Portuguese*; ALL have been
 " *Losers* by it; This is confess'd upon the *English*
 " Contract: However, I never heard but the *Spaniards*
 " were well supply'd with Slaves during *Don Porcio's*
 " Contract, and *England* then had their *Bullion* for its
 " *Manufacture*.

" ONE would think there should be little Difficulty
 " to prevail with an *English* Company to take all pos-
 " sible *Precautions* to avoid *such* Measures as they find
 " Reason to believe were the Occasion of their Pre-
 " decessors, former *Assientists*, Miscarriages, and which
 " appears to have been in nothing plainer than in having
 " trusted the *Spaniards* too much, and been too much
 " in their *Power*.

" I HAVE heard there was a great *Arrear* due to *Don*
 " *Porcio* and others concern'd with him at the Expira-
 " tion of his Contract, or at least, when he had done
 " with it, which was *never* afterwards paid; They were
 " Subjects of *Spain*, and tho' they had much the *same*
 " Privileges granted them in the *Indies*, that other *As-*
 " *sientists* have had, they were still in their Sovereign's
 " *Power*, and could have no Redress but from him;
 " this ruin'd them, and Sir *James Castillo*, and with
 " whom several *English* Merchants likewise suffered,
 " and who possibly might have found Means of Redress,

“ if all the Care had been taken of them which might
 “ have been expected from the Progress of the *British*
 “ Arms : But I really do not know certainly if this Op-
 “ portunity was *lost* for want of a proper Application, or
 “ by a Neglect of it when made,

“ THE *Portuguese Company* settled amongst them,
 “ and thereby gave them an Opportunity of *seizing*
 “ their Effects to a *great Value* on some *Pretence* of
 “ Breach of Articles, and by all the Solicitations they
 “ have been able to make at the Court of *Spain* have
 “ never receiv'd Satisfaction.

“ THE *French Company* pursued the *same Measures*,
 “ and tho' they had *Pretensions* to better Usage, have
 “ found [excepting the Seizure] *little* better Success.

“ AND tho' it were now to be hop'd that an *English*
 “ Company under the Protection of his present Majesty,
 “ who will undoubtedly revive and maintain the Ho-
 “ nour of the Nation, and Security of its Commerce,
 “ will not be in Danger of ill Treatment. Yet, who
 “ knows what may happen upon a *sudden Rupture*, if
 “ they, like the *Portuguese*, put themselves in their
 “ Power to be liable to be surpriz'd ? Their *Contract*
 “ must, in such Case, be suspended, and they are
 “ not to forget, that in Case of a War, they may fare
 “ the worse for being thought *Hereticks*.

OUR Author then proceeds to lay down a *Scheme*, for
 carrying on the *Assiento Contract*, which has in *some*
Measure been put in Execution : And had other Parts
 of it been observed, the *Company* would not have lain
 so much at the *Mercy* of the *Spaniards* as they have
 done, by which Means they are greater Sufferers than
 former *Assientists*, and must, before now, have met with
 the *same Fate*, had they not had a *superior Capital*.

“ THE Trade to *Africa*, says he, p. 18. being no other-
 “ wise necessary to the *Company*, than to enable them to
 “ perform their *Contract*, they may pursue that more or
 “ less, as they find it necessary, or find it *answer*. Tho'
 “ they should decline it themselves, their Encourage-
 “ ment to the Market at *Jamaica*, would not fail to
 “ bring *thirty* or *forty* *Sail* of *Guinea* Ships every Year
 “ to that Island, and their *Factory* would be sure of
 “ having

“ having their *Choice* of Slaves at *reasonable* and *certain* Prices, because they would buy with *ready Money*, which *others* are not always able to do.

“ VOYAGES to *Carthagera* may be made in Sloops in little more than a *Fortnight*; in about *three Weeks* to *Porto Bello*; to the *Havanna* in about a *Month*; and to *La Vera Cruz* in little more: Each Sloop will carry 150 *Negroes*, and make *eight* or *ten* Voyages in a Year: And in this manner *two* or *three* at most will deliver the whole Number of *Negroes* contracted for in the *North Seas*, or a greater Number if needful at the Times and Places the *Spaniards* shall require them.

THIS last Paragraph, I think, fully confirms what I said as to those Voyages, and *confutes* my Opponent's Assertion, that the Voyage to *Carthagera* takes up twice the Time it doth to *Porto Bello*. [*Vide this Def. p. 13.*]

“ BUT to return, *says my Author*, to what I designed to confine my self, to wit, a principal Factory at *Jamaica* for the Disposal of Slaves.

“ TO which I remember there were some Objections made, and which you will expect should be answered.

“ THE most material one, I think, was the *Duty* of twenty Shillings *per Head*, which has been laid by *Act of Assembly* in *Jamaica* upon the *Export* of Slaves, and been apply'd to the *extraordinary* Occasions of the Government there during the War; this was *alleg'd* to be unreasonable for the *Company* to pay for so great a Number of Slaves as they should import to *Jamaica*, only as a Ware-House.

“ I CANNOT be positive whether this Duty has ever been continued in Time of Peace, and if not, the Objection falls.

“ THE *Assembly* of *Jamaica* will certainly consider how much it is the Interest of that Island to invite the *Company* to it by all the Indulgences they can allow them, and exempt them from any Burthens which may reasonably discourage them.

“ THOUGH the Consequences have not yet been the same to them as to *Barbadoes*, they owe it to their
“ *Situation*

“ *Situation* above the other ; if it should remove the
 “ *Company* from them, their *Case* would then be little
 “ different.

“ BUT on the other side, if the *Exigencies* of the
 “ *King's Government* there, should at any Time re-
 “ quire the *raising* such Sums as *used* to be raised by
 “ that *Duty*, and no other *Expedient* could be found
 “ by more proper Funds, yet I hope whilst the *Com-*
 “ *pany* enjoy'd all the *Benefit* of *Export* to themselves,
 “ the *Payment* of a *moderate Duty* towards the *Sup-*
 “ *port* of that Government, which it would then *equal-*
 “ *ly* concern them to *support*, would not be a sufficient
 “ Matter of Difference to prevent their settling in a *Co-*
 “ *lony*, which will, as I have shewn, *amply* repay them
 “ in the *Expence* it will *otherwise* save them, and in
 “ the *Conveniencies* it will afford them.

THOSE Paragraphs clearly shew, that the *Duty* on
Negroes exported from *Jamaica*, was laid during the last
French War, and long before the *South-Sea Company*
 was established : And this Author *himself* then allowed
 it to be a *moderate Duty*, and that it *equally* concerns the
South-Sea Company, to *support* the Government of that
 Island ; which, *he says*, will be *amply repaid*, by the
Expence it will *otherwise save* them.

“ P. 24. SAYS my Author, the *Spaniards* will give more
 “ for Slaves at *Panama*, than they will at *Porto Bello*,
 “ and more at *Lima*, than at *Panama* ; but then the
 “ *Seller* must *deliver* them at *those* Places at the *advanc'd*
 “ Rates, and it is therefore very immaterial *where* the
 “ Contract is made, the *Place of Delivery* being what
 “ will determine the Price ; and I cannot but be of O-
 “ pinion, it will be *best* for the *Company* to leave the
 “ *Spaniards* to the Travelling their own Slaves up their
 “ own Country, who are best acquainted with the Me-
 “ thod of it, and can certainly do it *cheapest* ; but more
 “ especially on Account of the *Duty* payable at their
 “ first Landing, whatever *Accidents* happen afterwards,
 “ and to content themselves with the Profit of them
 “ upon the *Delivery* at *Porto Bello*, and run no fur-
 “ ther *Risque*, either of transporting their Slaves *over*
 “ Land, or bringing back their Money, in which like-
 “ wise

“ wise they will find there is *Danger*, the *Spaniards*
 “ having been many Times *intercepted* by *Pirates*, about
 “ the Entrance of the River *Chagre*.

THIS Paragraph plainly corroborates, what I asserted in the *Observations* on the *Assiento Trade*, p. 17. concerning the *Damage* which the *Company* sustains, by *Death*, *Sickness*, and *Escapes* of *Negroes*, in travelling them from *Porto Bello* to *Panama*, through a *wild*, *rainy*, *mountainous* and *unwholsom* Country.

“ P. 25. A THIRD Objection which was said to have had
 “ great Stress laid upon it, was that by the *Company's*
 “ settling there, it would give an Opportunity to the
 “ *Jamaica Merchants* to continue their private and un-
 “ lawful Trade, under Covert of the *Company's* own
 “ Factory, and which was absolutely necessary for the
 “ *Company* to prevent, and therefore it was argued as
 “ necessary to settle only among the *Spaniards*.

“ THOUGH I cannot agree to this Conclusion, on the
 “ contrary it appears to me to be an Argument rather
 “ for, than against the Matter in Dispute ; yet I must
 “ admit, that the *Company* have had some Reason gi-
 “ ven them to apprehend from the *Jamaica Merchants*
 “ a Continuance of their secret Trade, in Prejudice to
 “ them, and therefore am not surprized that this Ob-
 “ jection should have made a strong Impression upon
 “ many Gentlemen concerned in the Direction of the
 “ Affairs of the *Company*.

“ ALLOWING then the *Company* to have most Reason
 “ to suspect the *Jamaica Merchants* attempting to inter-
 “ fere with them ; Which seems the most reasonable
 “ Way to prevent them ? The Settling their own Factory
 “ in *Jamaica*, who may *OBSERVE* and *WATCH*
 “ them, and must be inform'd of every Attempt of that
 “ Nature ; or avoiding that Island, and trusting to the
 “ *Intercepting* all such Traders on the *Spanish Coast* ?
 “ It must be very obvious to every Body that will judge
 “ impartially, that the former is the more probable
 “ Method. There is but one Port of Entry at *Jamaica* ;
 “ the *Company's Factors* will reside there.

“ THAT Trade has been famous for being carry'd on
 “ there clandestinely ; the *Spanish Governments* have
 “ never

“ never been able to hinder them ; and the Temptation
 “ will be the same to the *Spaniards* in buying Negroes
 “ cheaper by *saving* the *Duty*. There are an infinite
 “ Number of Creeks upon the Coast, where small Vessels
 “ may get in ; and it can hardly be expected that
 “ *Jamaica* will contribute to the Discovery of their In-
 “ habitants, or hindering them the least in any Trade,
 “ when by the *Company*’s avoiding them, they will be
 “ reduc’d to the utmost Necessity.

“ THERE are but these two Ways the *Jamaica* Mer-
 “ chants can continue their Trade, if the *Company* set-
 “ tles at *Jamaica* ; it must either be by sending Negroes
 “ aboard the *Company*’s Vessels, which cannot be with-
 “ out the *Permission* of their Factors, or else in sepa-
 “ rate Vessels, which cannot be without *their Know-*
 “ ledge ; so that this Objection can have no *Weight* but
 “ from a Supposition of the *Company*’s being betray’d
 “ by *their own Factors*.

It is needless to Remark, that though the Author of that Piece, in some respects does Justice to the Island of *Jamaica*, yet on the Whole it is evidently calculated for the Service of the *Company* ; and therefore proper Allowances will be made by the Reader, who will plainly discover the *Drift* and *Design* of the last four Paragraphs.

I confess, in the first cursory Reading of it, I fancied that I had Him all along in my Eye, though indeed some Parts of it puzzled me extremely ; for, I could scarce think it possible, that the very Person who had so fully justify’d the Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, from the Aspersions which were, at that Time, laid on them ; and honestly represented the Value of their Trade, the Advantages of that Island to Great Britain, in many other Respects, and how shamefully it had been neglected and treated ; could be the very Person, who, dropping all his former Grievances, and Assertions, was now the loudest Clamourer against them : That, one and the same Person, who so frankly declared his Opinion of a projected Piece of Fraud, * which appeared upon the

* vide the Political State of Great Britain, for June and July, 1714.
 Examination

Examination of Capt. *Johnson* before the House of Lords, in 1714; and, *who* really designed to be the *Robbers* and *Plunderers* in that Trade, could now pass over, in Silence, the *Objections* which have been made to the Conduct of some *other Gentlemen*, their *Agents* and *Servants* Abroad, who are *suspected* of having executed a *Plan* of the *same kind*, for which a *Gentleman* was *censured* and *removed* from his Office *only* for attempting of it.

BUT having, on a little Consideration, fully satisfied my self of our Author's great Talent this Way, and the Aim of his whole Performance (Which have since so FULLY answered his EXPECTATIONS) I no longer doubted it must be He; 'tis a Unique, and there can be no other.

I SHALL here conclude, believing that, if this Writer fairly enters into a *Discussion* and *Explanation* of these several Matters, I have cut him out Work enough till my Return; and then I promise him some farther Employment, and that I shall not be wanting in my Travels, to collect *all* the Materials I can, which will furnish him with another Opportunity of displaying his great Talents, and of receiving, once more, the *Thanks* and *Applause* of his PATRONS.



*EXTRACT of a Letter from Jamaica,
Feb. 2. 1723.*

" — and — have concerted such Measures * that
the private Trade to the Spanish Coast is perfectly
put up; no Vessel on that Door has done any Thing
there, for these several Months; nor can we reason-
ably expect it to open, in any tolerable Way, while
the *Asiento Contract* continues; at least whilst that
Agency's directed by such Hands as —

* *Vide* Pag. 12, and 63. of this Defence.

F I N I S.



Lately published,

SOME Observations on the *Asiento Trade*, as it hath
been Exercised by the *South-Sea Company*; proving
the Damage which will accrue thereby to the *British*
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